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PORTRAIT OF DÜRER BY HIMSELF.

From the All Saints Picture in the Imperial Gallery at Vienna.

ALBERT DÜRER

HIS LIFE AND WORKS.

BY MORIZ THAUSING,

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TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN.

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EDITED BY FRED. A. EATON, M.A. OXON.,

SECRETARY OF THE ROYAL ACADEMY.

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CHAPTER XII.

THE LARGE PICTURES.

"I thought by taking pains to please you and gain a reputation for myself. If it were otherwise, I should indeed be sorry."

DÜRER.

ITALY, that beautiful enchantress, whose irresistible charms have caused many of Germany's greatest men to forget their native land, and array themselves beneath her colours, did not fail to exercise over Dürer in the course of the year and more that he spent beyond the Alps, that subtle influence which elevates the understanding and expands the mind. He thought, as did Goethe after him, with a sort of shudder, of his return to cloudy skies, and of the less easy nature of the life which awaited him at home. But, though he enjoyed himself very much at Venice, and gave in willingly in many external things to the prevailing taste there, the essential nature of his art remained untouched by foreign influences, and he returned to Nuremberg unitalianised, and true to his original

principles. The fame which his works enjoyed in Italy only encouraged him to continue in the path he had already chosen. Perhaps the exuberance of life displayed in Venetian painting inspired him, even under the altered circumstances of his home life, with the determination to devote all his energies to large easel pictures. To the 'Adoration of the Magi' in 1504, and the 'Feast of the Rosary' in 1506, succeeded the 'Adam and Eve' in 1507, the 'Martyrdom of the Ten Thousand Saints' in 1508, the 'Assumption of the Virgin' in 1509, and the All Saints picture or 'Adoration of the Trinity' of 1511. Dürer was at the height of his power when he created these masterpieces, small, indeed, in number, but remarkable for their conception, composition, and entire execution by his own hand. To complete a large picture to his satisfaction, Dürer required the same time as Schiller did for a tragedy, viz., a whole year.

He began by again occupying himself with the problem of the anatomy of the human frame. Since finishing his engraving of 'Adam and Eve' in 1504, he had found at Venice better opportunities of studying the nude male figure, and far more beautiful female models had come under his notice. There is a full-length sketch of one done by him, as was his custom at Venice, with the brush on blue anchor-marked paper: the well-proportioned figure is seen from behind, against a dark background, holding the painter's cap in her outstretched left hand. It was bought by B. Hausmann from Böhm at Vienna, and bears the genuine date 1506. From the position of the extended right foot and of the outstretched arm, it may be supposed that Dürer had already in his mind the life-size Eve of the picture. Many studies of different parts of this Eve, some done in chiaroscuro, and some with the pen, during the years 1506 and 1507, are in the British

Museum.* The left arm with the apple was repeated several times by Dürer. One of the sketches, three-quarter life-size, on Venetian paper, and dated 1507, belongs to Herr Alfred von Franck at Gratz. It is possible, too, that Italian works may have influenced Dürer in his new conception of the 'Adam and Eve.' Thus the two statues by Antonio Bregni, called Rizzi, in the court of the Doge's Palace, opposite the Giant's Staircase, show, as regards form and expression, points of analogy with Dürer's picture, exactly in those portions in which the latter differs from the earlier engraving—in, for example, the slightness and grace of Eve's figure, and in Adam's raised eyes and parted lips; all which is suggestive, at any rate, of the indirect influence of the marble statues.

Dürer's diptych is now in the Pitti Gallery at Florence. Old copies of it exist in the Madrid and Mayence Museums; and, though the signature and date, 1507, are only found on these copies, Sandrart's statement that the original was painted in that year deserves the fullest credit. During the sixteenth century it was in the Rathhaus at Nuremberg, and passed thence into the collection of the Emperor Rudolph II.†

Dürer's 'Adam and Eve' are the most perfect nude figures which the art of the North had as yet created. The position

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* Waagen, *Treasures of Art*, i. 233 B. Hausmann, Nos. 155 and 156.

† The catalogue of this collection mentions "Two beautiful large pictures by Albert Dürer, representing Adam and Eve" (*Berichte des Wiener Alterthumsvereins*, 1864, vii. 109). The Mayence picture is the copy, probably done by Juvenel, which replaced the original at Nuremberg; it was carried off by the French in 1796, and afterwards brought to Mayence. See Heller, 188, 211, and 239; and Otto Mündler, *Beiträge zu Burckhardts Cicerone* in the *Jahrb für Kunstw.* ii. 284. Will, *Gelehrten Lexicon*, 1755, i. 298, mentions the picture as still in the Nuremberg Rathhaus: "This piece cost 1200 rix-dollars before it was in its place." He gives, however, no authority for this statement, and certainly at that time the Nuremberg picture was only a copy. The original has been engraved by Calzi and Ferretti in Luigi Bardi's *Galleria Pitti*, Florence, 1840, pl. 38 and 39, under the name of Lucas Cranach. The initial letter of this chapter is a reduced cut from the original.

of Adam is like that in the engraving of 1504; but the head, which is younger and better shaped, is raised and seen more from the front; the lips are parted, showing the tongue, and giving a look of joyful ecstasy to the features; the fair hair flows over the shoulders; and the fingers of the right hand, which is held down, are spread out with a sort of deprecatory gesture, while the left grasps the branch with the apple offered him by Eve. With smiling face, and body slightly bent forward, Eve advances, placing one foot in front of the other, a position which enhances the slightness of her figure. Dürer was very fond of this position of the feet in his nude women, as well as of a peculiar spreading out of the fingers, which is not always in harmony with the motive and action of the moment. The flesh-tints are bright, and stand out sharply against an almost black background; the painting is exceedingly liquid, and very delicately fused in the grey shadows. There is nothing finnikin, however, in the execution; it is in fact broader and less laboured than Dürer's other masterpieces of the same period. In the treatment of the hair, for instance, the appearance of reality is not brought about by painting each hair separately, but by a thicker laying on of colour in the lights. If the example of Bellini and his school induced Dürer to use his brush with greater freedom, the result is especially manifest in the 'Adam and Eve,' for which the preliminary studies were made at Venice. The head and figure of Eve show traces of this influence, while the leaves and fruit of the tree are of southern origin, and some of the animals with which the painter has surrounded our first parents could not have been studied with such accuracy at Nuremberg. By the side of Adam is a wild boar and a stag's head.* In the foreground

* The water-colour study for this head is in the Berlin Museum (Posonyi-Hulot collection, No. 353).

is a cock pheasant admirably done. A lioness, faithfully rendered from nature, is asleep behind Eve. Perched upon a branch sits a grey red-tailed parrot of most life-like aspect, while another higher up is not so successful. Below, in the foreground, are two partridges.* The head of the serpent is peculiarly variegated in colour and of fantastic appearance.

The merit to which Dürer can here lay claim for his representation of the nude can only be fully appreciated by comparing his 'Adam and Eve' with the corresponding pictures by Lucas Cranach. Even the old copies at Madrid and Mayence are enough for this purpose. The copyists very wisely renounced the laborious task of reproducing the animals, and made one picture of the two figures; or, by adding a label with Dürer's signature on it, stamped them both with a mark of authenticity which was not possessed by the original.† Considering the way in which each of the two figures forms the centre of a long narrow picture, and that, from their attitude, they seem to have more to do with the spectator than with each other, it may be assumed with tolerable certainty that they were intended to be two separate figures forming pendants, and not a single composition. We shall not be far wrong if we see in these Florence pictures the two side-wings of a great altar-piece, never, it is true, completed, but which Dürer had probably for a long time been thinking of.

* The water-colour study for the cock-bird standing on one leg is in the Albertina.

† At Mayence the two panels are joined, at Madrid they are separated. In both examples, under Eve's right hand, is a label in a wooden frame, with the spurious monogram and the inscription in cursive Gothic letters, "*Albertus Dürer Alemanus faciebat post virginis partum* 1507." The Madrid copy seems the older and better. Perhaps it was the first done, and was considered as the original and carried off from Nuremberg to be replaced by the Mayence copy. Anyhow, this latter was done from the Madrid picture, and is consequently the copy of a copy.

Dürer, however, was not permitted to continue this lofty flight in the domain of painting. We find him soon after his return home occupied with a picture, which, though less in size, comprises a multitude of small figures, viz., the 'Martyrdom of the Ten Thousand Saints' in the reign of King Sapor II. of Persia, now in the Imperial Gallery at Vienna. It was painted for his old patron, the Elector Frederick the Wise. Dürer writes about it on August 28th, 1507, to Jacob Heller, of Frankfort-on-the-Main: "You must know that I have been for some time suffering very much from fever, and have consequently been hindered for several weeks in my work for Duke Frederick of Saxony, greatly to my disadvantage. I shall soon finish it now, however, as it is more than half done." On March 19, 1508, he is able to announce that "in a fortnight Duke Frederick's work will be finished." And he adds farther on, "I wish you could see my gracious master's picture. I think it would please you. I have worked at it nearly a year, and shall not gain much; for I am only to receive 280 Rhenish florins, almost what it has cost me."

Nothing but executions, with death in every shape, and details of the most horrible kind, can hardly be deemed a very attractive subject; but it gave the artist the opportunity of representing a number of nude figures in movement, and of displaying his skill in bold foreshortening. In the foreground, on the right, appears the King on horseback, arrayed, like his suite, in Turkish costume. On the extreme left are seen several crucifixions, and a beheading is taking place close by, while among the prisoners near can be distinguished a bishop. In the middle distance are some saints bound to a stake, and to the right a group of naked prisoners are being led along a ravine towards a rock, over the precipitous sides of which their persecutors hurl the martyrs on to thorns, stakes, and lances. Almost in the middle of the picture, as unconcerned spectators of the scene, stand Dürer

himself and his friend Pirkheimer. Dürer, dressed entirely in black, holds in his hand a little scroll on which is the inscription: "*Iste faciebat anno domini* 1508 *Albertus Dürer Alemanus.*" The excellence of the drawing, the delicate and refined execution, and the solidity and depth of the colouring combine to make one forget the terrible nature of the subject. Its ghastly effect is also diminished by the small scale of the figures, as well as by the clear and admirable arrangement of the various groups in the midst of a rich landscape; qualities which are entirely wanting, for instance, in Vittore Carpaccio's great picture in the Academy at Venice, representing the same subject, where the whole is one frightful scene of confusion. Dürer had thought out his composition with great care. Some ten years before, shortly after finishing his 'Apocalypse,' he had done the wood engraving * of the same scene, the only difference being that the King is not on horseback, and the group of martyrs in the background are going in a different direction. It was probably this woodcut which decided the Elector to give the order for the picture. To slightly indicate a story in a woodcut is, however, one thing, to tell it in detail in an oil picture, quite another. And accordingly before beginning, Dürer endeavoured to simplify the composition of the scene, and to arrange it on two plans only, so that it might be oblong in shape instead of the height being greater than the width. The result of this attempt is seen in the delicate lovely pen-sketch, dated 1507, which was engraved by Caylus, and then formed part of the Crozat collection, but is now in the Albertina. In the picture, however, Dürer returned voluntarily or involuntarily to the stiffer arrangement of the woodcut, by placing the fore- and background farther apart, and so leaving space for the supernumerary figures. He did the best that he could with his

* Bartsch, 117.

subject. If the representation of a series of horrors did not allow of the development of any lofty thoughts, he at any rate showed his skilful execution in the treatment of the hands, the limbs, and the various attitudes of the bodies, all of them master-pieces in their way. The perfect finish of these separate details rivets the eye, and, by inviting it to a closer inspection, prevents it from dwelling on the terrifying aspect of the composition as a whole. Unfortunately, the picture is in a very bad state; it has been transferred to canvas, and is entirely destroyed in parts. It must have been presented to Rudolph II. in 1603, for Van Mander saw it in that prince's collection at Prague.*

On the 24th of August, 1508, Dürer writes to Jacob Heller at Frankfort: "I pray you, if you know any one who wants a picture, to offer them the Virgin that you saw here. With a proper frame it would be a very pretty picture, for you know it is carefully done. I will let you have it cheap. If I were to do it now I should want not less than 50 florins, but as it is finished it might be injured here. So I give you full power to sell it cheap, say for 30 florins; indeed, rather than not sell it, I will let it go for 25 florins. It has cost me a great deal." On the 4th of November in the same year Dürer revokes this commission: "You need not," he writes, "look out for a purchaser for my picture of the Virgin, for the Bishop of Breslau has given me 72 florins for it; so I have sold it well." This bishop was John V., Count Thurzo; his secretary Johannes Hessus was a Nuremberger by birth, and a friend of Pirkheimer's, and very probably arranged the sale. Dürer, however, had to wait three years and to make constant applications before the

* The picture is 0m.98 high by 0m.865 wide. The Munich Pinakothek has an old copy; and there is another by Johann Christian Ruprecht at Vienna with the original. It has been engraved in four sheets by Steen.

bishop sent orders to Nuremberg for the debt to be paid, of which he had even forgotten the amount.*

From the fact of Dürer so quickly lowering the price to 25 florins it may be inferred that the picture was not one of his best. At the same time, his fear lest it should be injured if it remained with him seems to indicate that it was of some size. In all probability it was the 'Virgin with the Iris,' in the Ständische Galerie at Prague.† The Virgin, life-size, in red drapery and a transparent white veil, is seated with the Infant Jesus at her breast, in the middle of a landscape and in front of a ruined wall with a round archway. Her countenance is very pleasing, and the happy, smiling expression is less mannered than in many other better executed pictures of the master. The flesh tones are very luminous, as also is the painting of the fair hair which floats away to the right. The accessories, on the contrary, and all the surroundings, are very poorly and hastily, even roughly, painted. Among the flowers and vegetation in the foreground, a large iris just behind the Virgin is especially noticeable; and here and there are some butterflies more delicately executed than the rest. The monogram and the date, 1508, could formerly be found on the wall; but now this school picture is in a very injured state, especially along the joints of the panel. One is surprised at the rough dry surface with brownish tints and black spots. An admirable broadly-treated water-colour drawing of a blue iris, the size of nature, in the Kunsthalle at Bremen, may have been a study for the flower to which this picture owes its name.

The Virgin with the Iris is in any case far inferior to

* Heller, 149.

† This museum was founded by Prince A. Lobkowitz. In 1821 the picture belonged to Felsenberg at Vienna (see Heller, 260). It is painted on panel, and is nearly five feet high by four feet wide. There is a large inaccurate lithograph of it by F. Schrotzberg.

another picture to which Dürer at that time devoted all his attention—the 'Assumption of the Virgin.' This work forms the centre of the triptych executed for Jacob Heller of Frankfort, about which some curious details are furnished by the eight letters which passed between Dürer and Heller on the subject.* Heller was a rich cloth-merchant of Frankfort, a remarkable man in many ways. His life was by no means entirely occupied in accumulating wealth and in devoting himself actively to the service of his native city. The relief of others' sufferings and the salvation of his own soul were of far more importance to him. Nor can he have been deficient in literary accomplishments, for he carried on the negotiations with the French ambassador, and was entrusted by the Emperor Maximilian, in 1505, with the task of making researches into the genealogy of the Dukes of Alsace, Heriman and Audo, who were buried at Wetzlar. But he was more especially, and to an unusual degree, absorbed in the religious duties of the age, the requirements of which he sought to satisfy by the performance of innumerable good works; and he died unshaken in his attachment to the old faith on the 28th of January, 1522. In his will he took very great care to make the utmost use of the inexhaustible means of salvation provided by the Church. Its clauses reveal a touching love for his neighbour, and a fear of God pushed almost to fanaticism, combined with the most anxious thought about a thousand earthly details. He lays down the most minute instructions for the pilgrim who is to be sent to Rome to pray at the holy shrines for himself and his wife. In 1500, the year of Jubilee, Heller had himself made a pilgrimage to Rome, and he mentions with enthusiasm his

* See *Dürers Briefe*, pp. 24 and 196; *Der Heller'sche Altar*, etc., in the *Zeitschrift für bild. Kunst*, vi. 94; Otto Cornill, *Jakob Heller und A. Dürer*, Frankfort, 1871; Joseph Heller, *Dürers Werke*, 162; and Nagler, *Münchener Kunstanzeiger*, 1865, No. 1.

stay there. The high position occupied by religious art in Italy could not certainly have escaped his attention, and no doubt prompted him to order on his return home works of art superior to the ordinary standard of such productions in Germany; as, for instance, the Calvary in the cathedral churchyard at Frankfort—a group of seven stone figures, larger than life, sculptured in the year 1509. But he attached still more importance to the triptych, which was to adorn the altar of St. Thomas in the Church of the Dominicans, where he had chosen a last resting-place for himself and his wife Katharina, the daughter of Johann von Mehlem of Cologne. The order for this votive picture was given to Dürer.

As the owner at Frankfort of the house called the Nürnberg Hof, in which he also lived, Jacob Heller had constant intercourse with Dürer's native place. He was there in the year 1507, and finding Dürer, upon his return from Venice, more than ever ready to expend his whole energies on a large picture, made a contract with him for one for 130 Rhenish florins. The arrangement of the subject was no doubt settled by Heller, who soon became very urgent in his letters for its speedy and fitting completion. Dürer put him off at first by saying that he must finish the 'Martyrdom of the Ten Thousand' for the Elector Frederick; but he then became so engrossed in his new task, and gave so much time and care to the design for the centre panel, the 'Assumption of the Virgin,'* that he found himself obliged to raise the price to 200 florins in order not to be a loser by devoting himself in the same way to the remainder of the

* "I have spent much labour and time on the design for the principal subject, and have sketched it in with two sound colours, so that I can begin to paint on it. As soon as I know your intentions (as to the additional price that is), I mean to put four, five, and even six layers of colour on for the purpose of obtaining transparency and depth," &c.

work. In the same letter of August 24, 1508, he pledged himself to execute the whole of the centre panel with his own hand: "No one shall paint a stroke but myself." He had taken an especial liking to the design: "Know, at the same time, that I never in my life began a work which pleased me better than the one I am painting for you." He strove and bargained thus laboriously in order to obtain the means of satisfying both his eagerness to be doing something and his artistic ambition.

At last, on the 24th of August, 1509, Dürer announces to Heller the despatch of the picture. Like a father sending away his child, he is never tired of giving recommendations and advice. He is better pleased that his picture should be at Frankfort than anywhere else in Germany. "It is done with the best colours that I could procure. It is painted over and over again, perhaps five or six times, with good ultramarine, and after it was finished I went over it again twice that it might last the longer. I am sure that, if you take proper care of it, it will keep bright and fresh for 500 years, for it is not painted in the ordinary way. Take proper care of it then, and see that no one touches it, or sprinkles holy water over it." He adds that he will come in two or three years to varnish it in his own particular way: "It will then last another hundred years longer." Heller was to be sure and not let any one else varnish it: "for if a work at which I have laboured for more than a year were spoiled, I should be very sorry indeed. And when it is put in its place, be there yourself, that it may not be injured," &c.

The hopes which Dürer indulged in as to the durability of his work were not to be fulfilled. The 'Assumption of the Virgin' remained for a century only in the Church of the Dominicans at Frankfort, bringing in to the monks a rich harvest of fees from merchants and other travellers who came to see it. Two powerful personages, collectors of

Dürer's works, then endeavoured to get possession of it. The Emperor Rudolph II. offered the monastery 10,000 florins for it; but it was eventually secured by the Elector Maximilian of Bavaria in 1615, and was burnt in the fire which destroyed the palace at Munich on the night of April 9th, 1674. The original was replaced in the Church of the Dominicans in the usual way by a copy executed by the Nuremberg painter Paul Juvenel, who, according to Sandrart, was a singularly good imitator of the old masters. This copy is now between the original side-panels in the Saalhof at Frankfort, and gives us a sufficiently good idea of the picture to enable us to estimate the greatness of our loss, and to justify the naïve satisfaction with which Dürer speaks of his work. It may be compared, in harmonious arrangement, and in the number and size of the figures, to the 'Feast of the Rose Garlands;' but in general animation, depth of perspective, and firmness of execution, it stands even a step higher, and must fairly be looked upon as Dürer's masterpiece.

We are led to this conclusion not merely from the master's own words, and still less by Juvenel's copy, but rather by unmistakable evidence of quite another character from the hand of Dürer himself. For none of his other paintings did he prepare such valuable drawings; indeed, we may boldly assert that probably no master ever made such careful and minute studies for a single picture. Every head, every hand, every bit of drapery, was drawn beforehand from nature on prepared paper with the brush, and each time with a decision and finish that it would be impossible to find equalled elsewhere. With the exception of the 'Feast of the Rose Garlands,' in which he was engaged in a sort of contest with the Italian masters, Dürer made no studies of a similar kind for any of his paintings. His intention was that these two works in honour of the Virgin should render him for ever

famous as a painter, the one in Italy, the other in Germany; but, alas! by a deplorable fatality, the former exists only as a wreck, the latter under the guise of an indifferent copy.

A glance at the accompanying simple woodcut, which was the first attempt to give an idea of what Dürer's Assumption was like,* is enough to show the close affinity of the composition to the last cut but one in the 'Life of the Virgin,' dated 1510. The pen-drawing for this cut in the Ambrosiana at Milan appears to be an intermediate step between it and the painting; the composition is plainly taken from the latter with only a few alterations, and it is in reverse. According to the traditional manner of representing the subject, there was indeed but little room for change in the general arrangement; but the slight modifications introduced in points which are almost alike in the woodcut and the painting are worthy of notice, as they show how fully Dürer took into account the diverse requirements of the different materials on which he worked, and the conditions of style indispensable to each of them. The figures, which in the homely woodcut are grouped together in the fashion of a low-relief, so that the whole of the small surface is completely filled, in the painting stand out with plenty of air all round, and ample space between them. Instead of the pleasant undertone speaking to us of a heavenly reward for earthly trials, the painting places before our eyes the elevating spectacle of a supreme triumph. The Saviour, in the woodcut, showing deep emotion, and turning in a somewhat

* *Zeitschr. für bild. Kunst*, vi. 96. The whole triptych has since been better reproduced, after a drawing by Eugen Klimsch, in O. Cornill's work on Jacob Heller. Particular use of Dürer's picture has been made by Johann Georg Fischer in his 'Descent of the Holy Ghost,' in the Schleissheim Gallery; it is easy to recognise, by the side of the Munich Four Apostles, seven heads and the whole of the figure of the Apostle standing in the foreground, as plainly borrowed from the 'Assumption.'

THE ASSUMPTION OF THE VIRGIN.

(*From the Copy at Frankfort, by Juvenel, of the Original Picture.*)

To face p. 15, Vol. II.

affected attitude towards the spectator, is a thoroughly successful prayer-book figure: but the Christ of the painting, with His powerful form and noble profile, enthroned above the Seraphim, His knees and shoulders only covered by the purple mantle, which falls about Him in magnificent folds, and wearing on His head the high, triple crown,—this is the Son of God, Conqueror over all suffering, the Judge of the world, to whom all power is given.

The brilliant red of the Saviour's garment is counterbalanced by the gold and yellow-brown in the drapery of the venerable figure of God the Father; between them appears the Virgin entirely clad in deep blue, with a thin white veil; and all around is a halo of little angels, with various-coloured wings. Below stretches far away a broad airy expanse of water and mountain, and in the centre are a village and a group of tall trees; one of those hazy distances which we look at with so much pleasure in Dürer's works. And in it he stands himself, in a grey doublet edged with red, pointing proudly to a tablet which he holds in his left hand, and which announces that he, "Albert Dürer, a German," painted this picture fifteen hundred and nine years after the Virgin gave birth to a child.*

The group of Apostles gathered in a circle round the grave is sober, but full of varied expression and emotion. The draperies of the four in the foreground fall in powerful folds, and are rendered with much more closeness and finish than would be inferred from our engraving. The colours of these draperies are disposed in large masses, and present

* "ALBERTVS DVRER ALEMANVS FACIEBAT POST VIRGINIS PARTVM, 1509." The monogram accompanies the date. This portrait of Dürer and the other one of himself in the All Saints picture of 1511 are engraved opposite one another in the plate called "A Temple of Honour to Dürer" (*Ehrentempel Dürers*), by Lucas Kilian. Heller describes them at the head of his Catalogue, 309, No. 1.

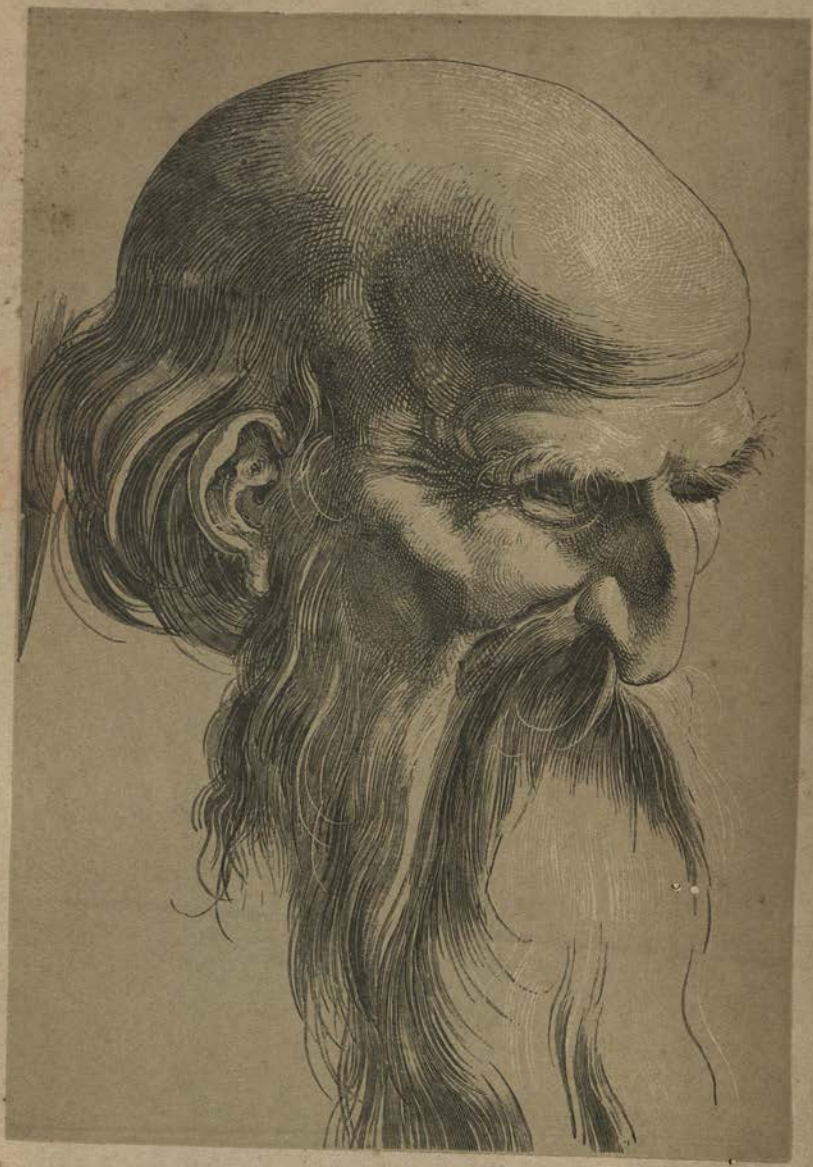
a striking contrast to the white garment of St. John, who is represented stooping down to view the grave. The first figure, kneeling to the left, with a head resembling that of the St. Mark in the Munich picture of the Four Apostles, is clothed in a green mantle over a red under-garment; the second, standing near him, wears a blue-grey robe; the third, seen from behind, has an orange-coloured mantle over a blue gown; and the farthest, kneeling to the right, is in red and violet; at least these are the colours presented to us in the copy by Juvenel.

But our opinion of Dürer's 'Assumption' is based far less upon this copy than upon the studies for it by the master which still exist. These are all done with the brush only, in Indian ink, and heightened with white, on a grey, green, or bluish prepared ground. Although mere sketches, the figures and objects represented have a great appearance of reality, the effect of relief being amazing; they are, in fact, some of the noblest studies Dürer ever produced. The original grounding appears to have been all grey. The greenish hue, mildewed, as it were, here and there with violet tints, must have been caused by some chemical decomposition in the colour used. With reference to our woodcut, we will now enumerate all the studies that are known to belong to this picture; and we shall then be able to put together, and in a measure reproduce, the greater part of it. Such as are wanting to complete the whole are either lost or not yet discovered.

1. The upper part of the body of Christ, with the arm and drapery, but with a different head. (The Kunsthalle, Bremen.)

2. The drapery over the knees of Christ, but with a naked leg showing. (The Louvre, Paris.)

3. The two hands of God the Father; the right holding the crown, the left with the orb. (The Kunsthalle, Bremen.)



HEAD OF AN APOSTLE FOR THE PICTURE OF "THE ASSUMPTION."

(*From the Sketch in the Albertina at Vienna.*)

4. The drapery over the knees of God the Father. (The Albertina, Vienna.)

5. Dürer's whole figure; a copy of an original, which is probably lost. (The Berlin Museum, Posonyi collection, No. 321.)

6. The head of the Apostle looking up, in the second rank on the left. (The Berlin Museum, Posonyi collection, No. 318.)

7. The head of the Apostle on the extreme left, looking down. (The Albertina.* See the accompanying woodcut of this in chiaroscuro.)

8. The head of the Apostle standing in the middle on the left, and seen from behind. (The Berlin Museum, Posonyi collection, No. 319.)

9. The left hand and sleeve of the Apostle kneeling in the middle on the right, with his back to the spectator. (The Albertina.)

10. The soles of the feet of the same Apostle. According to Van Mander a large sum of money was offered for permission to cut these out of the picture. They are repeated in the woodcut of the 'Assumption' in the 'Life of the Virgin.' (The collection of the Chevalier Alfred von Franck, Gratz.)

11. The head of the Apostle kneeling to the right, next to the preceding one. (The Albertina.)†

12. The joined hands of the same Apostle. (The Albertina.)

13. The drapery of his mantle, with the sleeves and the corner of the cloak thrown over his knees. (The Albertina.)

14. The head, slightly turned on one side, which appears above that of the Apostle praying. (The Albertina.)

15. The hand of the same Apostle pointing upwards. (The Albertina.)‡

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* Lithographed by Krammer.

† Lithographed by J. Kriehuber. There is a deceptive copy in the Print Room at Dresden.

‡ Engraved on copper by Egidius Sadeler, and lithographed by Krammer.

16. A head looking up, formerly in the Payne-Knight collection, and now in the British Museum, must be included among these designs.*

All these drawings are of the year 1508; most of them, indeed, have this date over the monogram.

Dürer did not by any means bestow upon the wings of the Heller altar-piece the same care as upon the centre panel. It was the latter alone which he had bound himself to paint with his own hands. He writes, on March 19th, 1508, "The outer wings are sketched in, they will be in chiaroscuro; I have also had them grounded." On August 24th, he further says, "The outer wings are already sketched in chiaroscuro, but not yet varnished; and the inner ones are quite grounded, so that they may begin to paint on them." From the wording and context of these passages, it would appear that Dürer had confided the execution of the side-pictures, as was usual, to his assistants or pupils.

The greater part of these wings, which did not attract the experienced eye of the Elector Maximilian, have remained up to the present day with Juvenel's copy of the centre panel. On the inner left one St. James is seen kneeling in prayer, while the executioner raises his arm for the stroke: behind him stands a heathen in Turkish costume, with his hand thrust into his girdle, and talking to another man. In the background a team of oxen are drawing the Apostle's bier. On the corresponding right wing is the decapitation of St. Catherine, whose headless body is seen in the distance being carried by Angels to its rest. The general arrangement of these compositions may be Dürer's own, but the artist charged with their execution seems to have been allowed free latitude, and to him, therefore, must

* Waagen, *Treasures of Art*, i. p. 234.

be ascribed the faults in linear perspective long since overcome by Dürer, as well as the representation in one picture of several episodes from the same subject, a practice which the master had already abandoned.

It is however difficult to decide by whose hand these two compartments were painted. The bright rich foliage in both of them, and the figure of St. Catherine's executioner entirely clad in white, remind us of Hans Schäufelein. But though Schäufelein worked in Dürer's studio about the year 1502, it is by no means certain, indeed it is very improbable, that he continued to do so after the latter's journey to Venice. There can, on the other hand, be no doubt as to the co-operation of Dürer's youngest brother Hans, then eighteen years old, the one who was afterwards court-painter to the King of Poland, at Cracow. He, as we know, was a pupil of Albert's, and was still in his brother's studio when this picture was painted: indeed, Jacob Heller gave him, on its completion, two florins as a "*Trinkgeld*," a proof that Hans had had some special share in the work. So perhaps we have here the youthful attempts of an artist by whose hand nothing authentic is as yet known.

On the lower parts of the inner wings, beneath the representation of the martyrdom of their respective patron saints, are portraits of Jacob Heller, and of his wife Katharina von Mehlem.

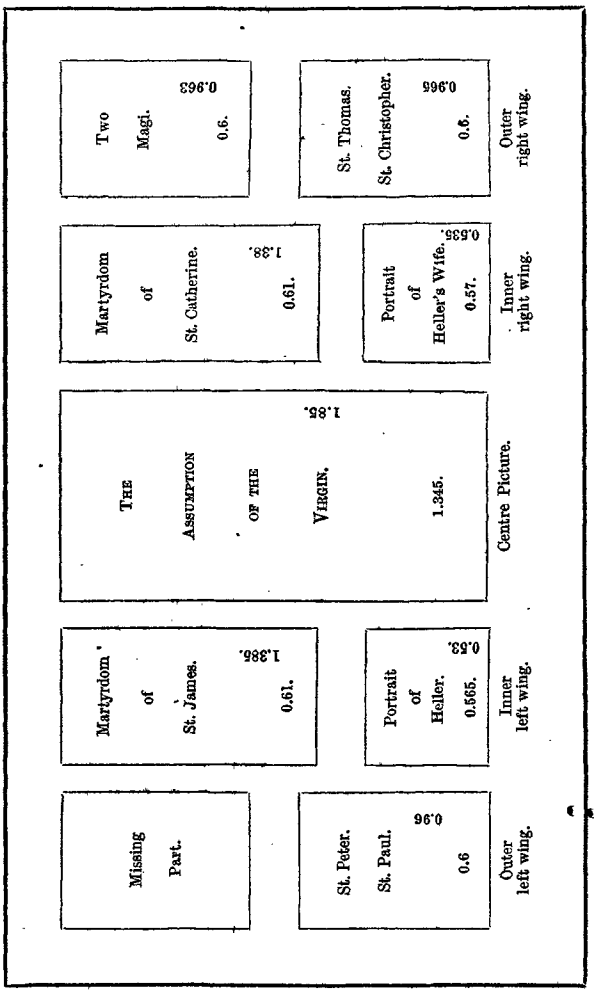
These pieces, which were sawn off from the triptych at some former period, are now again attached to the wings. Both the donors are represented kneeling in prayer under the segment of a vaulted arch. On the ground in front of each are the family arms: those of the Hellers, a chevron between three gold coins, on a blue ground; the Mehlems, a red crab on a white field. As works of Dürer's these portraits are of small importance. The colour, laid on with some vigour, is broken by deep cracks, and has, indeed, in places

PORTRAIT OF JACOB HELLER.

quite peeled off, so that the pictures present a very unsightly appearance. At the same time, the small cleverly arranged figures betray the original design of the master, and the execution of the heads, the hair, and the hands, shows unmistakable traces of his own work. This is especially the case with the striking and wonderfully characteristic likeness of Jacob Heller. The head, of which our illustration, the same size as the original, gives as good an idea as a woodcut can, has something surprising in its expression for a simple burgher of those days. The delicate features show an inclination to idealism and a habit of brooding, coupled with a look of mental suffering common to finely organised minds. Assuredly this lean haggard man has a passionate soul that can with difficulty be restrained; moreover, there are traces of an irritable anxiety, which make it easy for us to understand how a correspondence with him must have severely tried Dürer's patience. He is represented kneeling in a black silk overcoat, the cut of which closely resembles Dürer's own holiday garment, and holding his cap in his folded hands, so that only the thumbs are visible, exactly like the donor Landauer in the All Saints picture.

The chiaroscuro paintings on the outer wings gave rise for a long time to mistakes. Sandrart thought that he recognised them in two works ascribed to Matthæus Grunewald, which however have nothing in common with the Heller altar-piece. It is only within our own time that the genuine pieces have been discovered and reunited to the triptych in the Saalhof. These outer wings were divided transversely into four equal parts; in each lower compartment were figures of two saints in chiaroscuro, St. Christopher and a saint with a bird on his shoulder, probably St. Thomas Aquinas, on the right, and the apostles St. Peter and St. Paul on the left; on the right upper compartment are represented two of the Magi; the left is

wanting; it probably contained figures of a third Wise Man and St. Joseph. The plan here given of the Heller altar-piece,



PLAN OF THE HELLER ALTAR-PIECE.

with the exact measurements, has been constructed from the existing remains. Such slight differences as may be

observed in the corresponding lines are to be attributed to the injury sustained by the panels when they were detached from one another.

By these toilsome and circuitous methods we are enabled to form some idea of one of Dürer's master-pieces—for such the Heller altar-piece is, or rather was. We may at any rate congratulate ourselves that we have the master's own letters and drawings to aid us in the task. Hardly anything, indeed, is wanting except a clearer idea of the execution of the centre panel, the 'Assumption,' and for this the wings are of no use; for, besides being very unequal in treatment, Dürer himself repeatedly and expressly distinguishes between them and the chief picture. His assertions, however, might be deemed insufficient, were it not that another masterpiece by his hand, still in a good state of preservation, furnishes us with the required commentary. We mean the All Saints picture in the Imperial Gallery at Vienna, which Dürer began after completing the Heller altar-piece, and finished in 1511. This picture forms an entire contrast to the 'Assumption,' inasmuch as it was unheralded, either by literary credentials or special preliminary studies. On the other hand, it has remained unchanged to this day and realises before our eyes the prophecies made by Dürer with respect to the Frankfort picture. From it can be gained the desired information as to the master's technical method, the two pictures having been no doubt painted in the same way. What he himself says about the several groundings and paintings of his picture, makes it evident that these repeated coats of colour were not in oil, but in tempera. Over the outlined drawing, done, like the studies for the 'Assumption,' with the brush, are laid several washes of thin limpid colour; hence the transparent brilliancy, the close enamel-like texture, and the solidity of the painting. Oil can only have been used in certain parts of the draperies where the gradations

of colour are deeper, and in the final glazes. Here and there too can be seen marks of his having tried, by dabbing them with his fingers and the palm of his hand, to reduce the over-smoothness and lucidity of the shadows. Notwithstanding this, however, the colours of the All Saints picture glow with a brilliancy which the abundant use of gold leaf has neither obscured nor interfered with the harmony of. Only the precious ultramarine, of which Dürer thought so much, is in parts spoilt and injured. One can easily imagine how laborious such a method of execution must have been, even for a hand as practised as Dürer's. Indeed, towards the end of his correspondence with Heller he declares that he will "never again undertake a picture with so much work and labour in it; . . . . if I did, I should become a beggar. Of ordinary pictures I could paint such a lot in a year that nobody would ever believe it were possible for one man to have done them; but careful pottering over details does not answer. For the future I shall stick to my engraving, and if I had done so before I should be richer to-day by a thousand florins."

There is no doubt that Dürer was in earnest when he threatened never to devote so much care to a large picture, for he eventually kept his word. In the meantime, however, he made an exception in favour of the All Saints picture already mentioned, in regard to which he had ere this entered into engagements. Erasmus Schiltkrot and Matthæus Landauer had founded in 1501 an almshouse for twelve old men, citizens of Nuremberg, called, from this circumstance, "The House of the Twelve Brethren," or, after the honoured coppersmith and bronze founder, "the Landauer Cloister." In it is a chapel built in 1507–8. This chapel is square in plan, and has two columns supporting a vaulted roof, the groined ribs of which combine to form stars. Between the columns, which have many-sided bases and spiral fluted shafts,

is a pendent keystone, formed by the prolongation of the groined ribs of the vault; the same sort of Gothic vaulting that is seen in English churches of this period. On the boss of the pendant are the Landauer arms. Underneath, and also between the two columns, and in front of the largest of the three round-headed windows, the one in the centre, stood the altar which Dürer's work was to adorn. The chapel was dedicated to All Saints, and hence the choice of a subject was already determined.*

An early sketch for this altar-piece, which passed with the rest of the Reiset collection into the possession of the Duc d'Aumale, bears the inscription, "*Anno domini*, 1508." † It is very slight, and affords only a general idea of the composition, the chief object of it being to give the design for the rich Renaissance frame in which the picture was to be set. Dürer had also made a design for the frame of the Heller altar-piece, for he says in his last letter to Heller of October 12, 1509: "As you ask me how the picture ought to be framed, I send you a sketch of how I should do it if it was mine." Dürer altogether gave up the old German fashion of an altar-piece with wings, as, indeed, he had already done when at Venice in the case of the 'Feast of the Rose Garlands' for San Bartolommeo. He determined to surround his last great altar-piece merely with an architectural framework, antique in its forms and proportions. The sketch of 1508 proves that the frame and the picture were thought of at the same time, and that both were designed by Dürer. There is a marked difference, however, between the first rapid sketch and the finished work. The frame too as carved varies considerably from the design.

* The usual name given to this picture is 'The Adoration of the Trinity;' but this or any similar title is quite incorrect.

† This pen drawing has been published by Denon (*Monuments, IV.*), and an etching of it, by L. Gaucherel, appeared in the *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, and in Narrey's *A. Dürer*, Paris, 1866.

It is not so high, and consequently more square, the outlines are sharper, the details and ornamentation richer, and the columns, which are detached, present a far more graceful appearance, the smooth surface being replaced by vine foliage in the lower part and flutings in the upper. There can be no doubt that Dürer superintended the carving, rule and compasses in hand. For who at Nuremberg but himself could have designed anything which so completely breathes the spirit of the antique, even though it does not show the perfect expression of that spirit in classical forms?

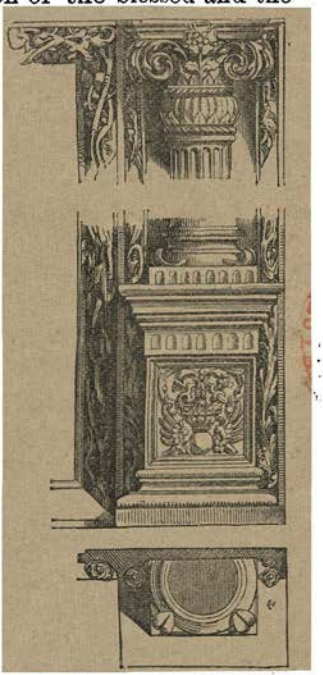
Architecture, less than any other art, can dispense with the definite traditions and associations derived from early examples. Dürer, there is no doubt, wanted to make a quiet sober design in the antique style. But for this his Vitruvius supplied him with only very meagre theoretical help, while Nuremberg architecture was of no practical use to him at all. The source to which his recollections naturally turned was Venice, where the early Lombard Renaissance had covered porches, *loggie*, and niches with rich ornamentation. Dürer's frame strongly reminds one, both in its arrangement and proportions, of the tomb of the Doge Pasquale Malipiero (died 1462) in the church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo, only that the tomb, being in marble, necessarily appears more massive. Three corbels upon volutes uphold the weight of the sarcophagus, and pillars, not columns, with Corinthian capitals support the semi-circular top, which encloses an 'Ecce Homo' between two angels, &c. and is surmounted by three female figures. Dürer, on the other hand, leaves quite a story to be told by the wood-carvings on his frame. Within the panel of the tympanum appears, in high relief, the Saviour, as Judge of the world, between the Virgin and St. John; while at each end is the figure of an angel, in the round, blowing the trumpet of the Last Judgment. In the frieze below, a number of small figures

CARVED WOOD FRAME FOR THE ALL SAINTS PICTURE.

(*From the Original in the Town Hall at Nuremberg.*)

To face p. 27, Vol. II.

in low relief represent the separation of the blessed and the damned, the former departing into Abraham's bosom, the latter into the jaws of hell.*



PORTIONS OF THE COLUMNS OF THE FRAME OF THE ALL SAINTS PICTURE.

As for the architectural design of this frame, not only does it show Dürer's determined intention to adhere to the teachings of the Renaissance, but it is also a proof of the astonishingly good use he made of such information as he possessed, especially when we consider that the famous Tomb of St. Sebald, for instance, executed by Peter Vischer between 1508 and 1519, was essentially Gothic in plan. Dürer gave his countrymen, if not an example, at any rate a very decided indication of the principles which should govern the future development of architecture. In details he was no doubt inspired by Gothic models, but he also consulted

* The third angel at the top of the tympanum, and the little figures in the frieze are wanting in the frame, and have been supplied by me from the drawing of 1508. In the upper part of the archivolt could still be seen the hole in which, no doubt, this little angel was morticed. Since then, and following on my researches, MM. Essenwein and Bergau have found at Ratisbon, among Heideloff's effects, the reliefs of the frieze, still retaining their former colouring. (*Anzeiger für Kunst der Vorzeit*, 1873, col. 312.) The frame was restored at Nuremberg by Heideloff, who disfigured the frieze and other parts, especially the moulding of the archivolt round the lunette, with plain common carving, and covered the old gilding and painting with a coat of ashen grey paint. In this state Dürer's frame hangs, little noticed, in a corner of the Nuremberg Rathhaus, an example of the respect paid by the Romanticists to German antiquity.

nature and his own fancy. What, however, is very remarkable and significative of his yearning after forms earlier than Gothic is the Attic base of the graceful columns with foliage ornamentation above the angles of the plinth—forms purely Romanesque, which had been long disused. The same too may be said of the dentilled ornament in the archivolt of the top. The arrangement of the predella, on the other hand (with the exception of the bead-roll, which is in the antique style), and the contours of the upper portion of the arched top, as well as of the architrave, are evidently of Gothic origin, as too is the rich twig-and-foliage ornamentation. It was, however, of the very essence of the German Renaissance to endeavour to blend Gothic motives and motives derived from nature with the fundamental forms of antique art, or to graft them one upon the other;* only the attempt had never been made with the moderation and taste displayed by Dürer. The capitals of the columns and the panels of the pedestals, of which we give an engraving specially done for this work by A. Ortwein, leave nothing to be desired on the score of elegance of design. The excessive prominence of the architrave, which projects completely over the abacus of the delicate capitals, is peculiar and unusual. The inscription on a scroll on the predella is written in small Gothic characters, and runs thus:

„Matthes Landauer hat endlich vollbracht das gotteshaus der tzwelf bruder samt der stiftung vnd dieser thafell nach xpi. geburd MCCCCCC XI ior." "Matthew Landauer completed the dedication of the chapel of the twelve brethren, together with the foundation attached to it, and this picture, in the year 1511 after the birth of Christ."

The arms of Landauer, consisting of two red leaves on a white ground, and a white leaf on a red ground, are on either side.

In order to form an idea of the effect produced by this

* See the remarkable researches of Herr W. Lübke on the subject of the German Renaissance in vol. v. of Kügler's *Geschichte der Baukunst*, Stuttgart, 1873.

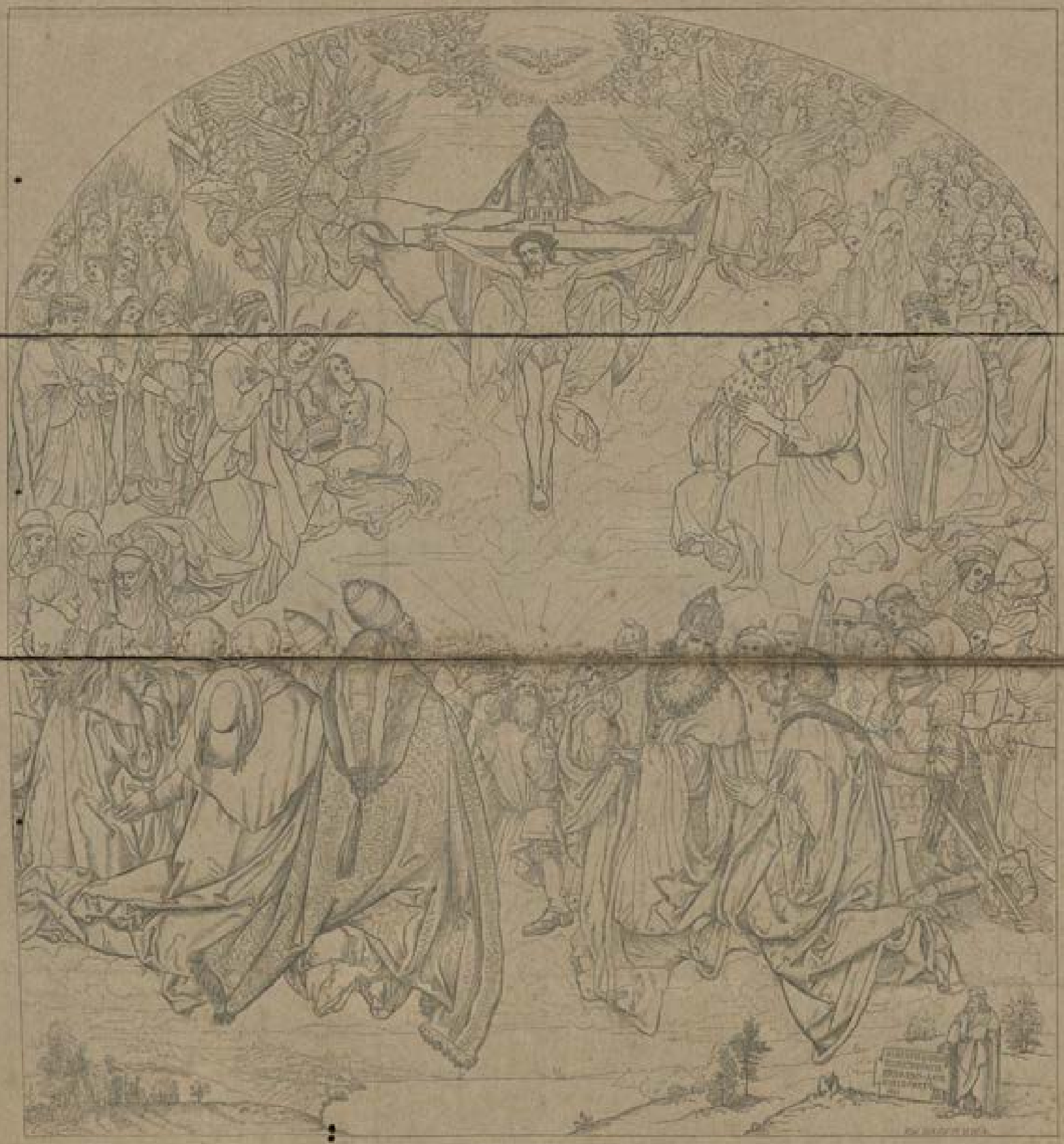
picture originally, we must dismiss from our mind's eye all the ornamentation added to the frame by Heideloff, as well as the grey coat of paint with which he covered it. Beneath this can here and there be seen portions of the old colouring and gilding. Indeed, no full appreciation of the work is possible without seeing the frame united to the picture for which it was designed; but there is little prospect of this at present. When the All Saints picture was sent by the Nuremberg Council, in March 1585, to the Emperor Rudolph II. at Prague,* the frame remained behind unnoticed. Perhaps the time may still come when respect for Dürer's memory will cause this oversight to be repaired. For our own part we have endeavoured, by inserting within the woodcut of the frame a slight sketch taken from the Vienna picture, to aid the reader's imagination. The empty triangular spaces at the top were no doubt filled with suitable ornament.

The All Saints picture, hitherto commonly called 'The Adoration of the Trinity,' is the final apotheosis in Germany, previous to the Reformation, of the Roman Catholic religious system in its integrity. About the same time Raphael gave expression to similar ideas in his fresco of 'Theology' known as 'The Dispute of the Sacrament,' in the Stanza della Signatura, at the Vatican. In both pictures the Trinity, adored by the Virgin and St. John the

* *Jahrbücher für Kunstw.* i. 223. This picture, which Van Mander saw and admired at Prague, was afterwards transferred to the Imperial Gallery at Vienna. It measures 1m,34 high by 1m,24 wide. Van Steen began an engraving of it in three plates, but it was never finished. In 1821 Julie Primisser, *née* Mihes, did a lithographed outline of it, the size of the original, in fifteen sheets. It is also engraved in E. Förster's *Denkmale der deutschen Kunst*, vi. p. 13. A copy of the picture by Joh. Christian Ruprecht is at the imperial château of Laxenburg, near Vienna. The original frame and picture might perhaps be once more united by means of this excellent old copy being exchanged for the former. It would at any rate be equal to the frame in money value.

Baptist, form the culminating point round which float angel choirs and heavenly saints, while on the earth below the various representatives of the Church look on in rapt adoration. Both pictures too are alike in having arched tops. But what a great difference, what a contrast, there is between the work of the Italian and the work of the German artist! Raphael enthrones within a rainbow glory the victorious and risen Christ; the holy Apostles and Martyrs on either side of him, full of individuality and conscious independence, are seated on the clouds like the gods of Olympus; the theologians and fathers of the Church, gathered round the Holy Sacrament in hot dispute, form a variety of animated groups, in which every form of opinion finds expression, from the humility of the youth bending forward on the steps of the altar, to the defiant attitude of the heretic who is turning away on the left. Within the compass of three half-circles Raphael pictured his conception of the Roman Church; he portrayed on a vast space of wall a number of perfectly finished forms; and his work was carried on at the centre of the Catholic world, and for its spiritual head.

Dürer, on the contrary, painted for a Nuremberg smith and metal founder, a picture of modest dimensions, destined for the altar of an almshouse for his poor fellow-citizens. And how was the Christian's heaven reflected in the soul of the German? Here is no assemblage of experts, of men of independent spirit, eager and ready for discussion. All and each are absorbed in a lively feeling of joy and satisfaction at the deliverance of the creature from its suffering through the mystery of the divine Passion. What a throng of happy beings there are even in the bright distant background, and how eagerly they press forward towards the fount of life! The Almighty Father, throned in indescribable majesty, holds before him the token of the world's redemption, the



THE ALL SAINTS PICTURE, OR LANDAUER ALTAR-PIECE.

(From the Original in the Imperial Gallery at Vienna.)

To face p. 81, Vol. II.

Crucified Mediator. Seraphim in a circle float above the Trinity, while on either side is a choir of ministering angels holding the instruments of the Passion. Below are ranged the saints: on our left, and consequently on the right of the Trinity, the martyrs of the New Testament, chiefly represented by females, led by the Virgin; on our right, the heroes of the Old Testament, in the midst of whom appear Moses and David, with St. John the Baptist at their head. This latter group, as indicating the character of primitive times, which was rather active than passive, is principally composed of men. The predominating colours in the draperies of these saints are blue, green, and rose, while the members of the Church militant below are chiefly clothed in red and gold, and are represented not by any particular individuals, but, in accordance with German ideas at that period, by different classes of society. On the left are the clergy with the Pope at their head. A cardinal is turning round with a gesture of encouragement to the donor, Landauer, who kneels awestruck in an attitude of humble adoration with the female members of his family behind him. A black chalk sketch for his head in profile, with the inscription, in Dürer's own hand, "*Landawer, Styfter*, 1511,"—"Landauer, donor, 1511," is in the possession of Mr. William Mitchell, and is the only study for the All Saints picture that I have been able to discover. On the other side the circle is completed by the members of the laity. First comes the Emperor under the ideal form of the aged Charlemagne, in gold-embroidered ermine robes; behind him are kings and princes, and a doge; and, farther off again, a knight, kneeling stiffly in a suit of armour richly inlaid with gold. The light-hearted peasant too with his flail is not wanting, and there is a touch of irony, quite in harmony with the times, in the way in which a young burgher appears to be greeting him, as much as to say, "What, you here too?" Another peasant

near them, in a high felt hat, has a look of comic gravity on his face. This side, like the other, ends in a group of women.

Dürer's picture cannot certainly be compared with Raphael's fresco in the Vatican as regards the dignity of the general arrangement, the proportion of the outlines, and the gracefulness of the forms. Nor can the systematic depth of thought and the exuberant profusion of figures make up for the want of space. What with Raphael is arranged in three semicircular rows, is with Dürer crowded into five complete circles, one above the other, if we count the charming coast landscape which terminates the picture at the bottom. In the right foreground of this admirable landscape, Dürer has portrayed a full-length figure of himself, standing like a conqueror, with long carefully-arranged hair, and attired in the ample folds of a fur-trimmed cloak, the gala costume of the period; at his feet is a tablet with an inscription to the effect that the picture was painted by Albert Dürer, of Nuremberg, in 1511.* Opposite the date is the monogram.

The whole picture has a golden, tender, hazy look. It does not absorb or distract the mind by details, but fixes attention by the unity of sentiment, which is its pervading characteristic, by the inward feelings of joy and satisfaction reflected in the countenances of the saints, by the charm of its delicate execution, and by the clear and lively harmony of colour that is able to glorify every part of the subject. There is an ideal intention in the choice of this colouring. No such attempt was ever made by Dürer or any other artist

* "ALBERTVS . DVRER . NORICVS FACIEBAT . ANNO . A . VIRGINIS . PARTV . 1511." As we have already seen (p. 15), this portrait of Dürer has been engraved by Lucas Kilian. The frontispiece of this volume is an engraving of it, two-thirds of the size of the original, done by Victor Jasper, under the skilful superintendence of Professor Louis Jacoby.

to spiritualise colour. It is as though he had tried to produce a pictorial equivalent for the music of the spheres. Even to this very day the picture dazzles us with its undiminished brilliancy—a perfect jewel of art. That it was not calculated to excite profound thought or give rise to ingenious comment, and that it would have been out of place in the sumptuous apartments of the great of this world, may indeed be granted. But to the people assembled for the worship of God, to the aged weary of life, to the poor seeking in prayer a solace for their woes, it must have come as a cheering heartfelt message of consolation. On afflicted, sorrowful, simple souls such a picture could not fail to produce an elevating effect, for it is the model of what a Christian altar-piece should be.

To the series of large pictures painted in the course of Dürer's middle period belongs one, smaller in size than the others, but on the same high level in point of conception and execution. This is 'The Virgin with the Cut Pear,' of the year 1512, now in the Imperial Gallery at Vienna. The Virgin, a half-length figure nearly life size, seen against a dark background, clothed in blue drapery and with a white veil over her head, is bending humbly over the Infant seated on her arm. In His hand He holds a piece of a pear. His attitude is unpleasant and constrained, the stomach being far too prominent, and there is not much expression in the head. The Virgin's head on the other hand, which is of a shorter, broader type, exhibits a profound tenderness and fervour. The painting is uncommonly limpid and harmonious; the flesh tints are rosy in the lights and grey in the shadows, and the hair is rendered with an incredible minuteness and precision. Of all Dürer's pictures of the Virgin this is the most perfect and the best preserved.*

* It is in wood, $0^{m}.467$ high by $0^{m}.36$ wide. There is an engraving of

After 1512 Dürer gave up painting with the care which he had bestowed on his large works; indeed, he ceased almost completely to occupy himself with a style of painting which brought him neither the profit nor the reputation which he considered he deserved. The occasional pictures done by him up to 1520 are not to be compared either in size or in quality of execution with the masterpieces of which we have been speaking. Instead of a clear bright chromatic scale, the colouring becomes dry and dead. A more rapid and slighter method of painting in oil hardly allowed of the blended tones obtainable in the old tempera colours. It was not till after the year 1520, when Dürer had seen in the Netherlands the wonders of the Flemish School, that the ambition was again roused in him of being thought a master of colour. He then painted with laborious care the portraits of some friends, and the great diptych of the Four Apostles, as a legacy to his native town, thus winding up his career as a painter in a signally marked manner. For simple grandeur, thoughtful depth of conception, and sureness of execution Dürer's last pictures surpass those done during his prime, up to and including 1512; but the creative passion, the delight in manipulating colours, and the proud self-confidence of those earlier days are gone.

Many great projects may perchance have come to nothing at the time that Dürer forswore painting. Still there are hardly any designs for an important picture to be found among his sketches. There is one, however, in the British Museum, a large pen-drawing of 1509 representing the Fall of the Angels. Within a circular space in the upper part God the Father is seated on a throne, His right hand uplifted in command, while around Him are a throng of angels, some in an

it by Franz van Steen of the same size, and turned the same way; and one by Nicolaus Pitau turned to the right. It has also been etched by B. Weyss.

attitude of adoration, and others supporting the hem of His mantle. Below, on either side, are seen three archangels hurling down from heaven the rebellious spirits. In the right corner kneels the donor, whom an angel is addressing with encouraging words; and below the former is a round shield bearing a white trefoil leaf and stalk upon a red ground. It is a composition full of immense energy.*

There are also several studies of the year 1508 for a picture which Dürer finished ten years later, viz. the life-size 'Lucretia' in the Pinakothek at Munich. These drawings are in the Albertina, at Vienna. One of them represents a full-length female figure, a quarter the size of life, completely nude with the exception of a narrow linen girdle; she is standing almost full-face on a square pedestal with her head slightly inclined on one side, and in the act of plunging a dagger in her heart with her right hand. This full, well-proportioned form in bold relief, is evidently done from nature with uncommon care. The black and white lines have been traced with the brush on prepared green paper, and the colours are the same as those in the contemporary studies for the 'Assumption.' The whole of the modelling, from the dark background to the pure white in the highest lights of the figure, is hatched in a masterly manner. The chiaroscuro and the reflections are also extremely delicate. On the other hand, the point of distance is so close that the feet appear to be seen too much from above and the nose and chin too much from below.† The right arm, with the hand turned inwards to the dagger, is also seen from above, which produces an awkward effect of foreshortening. Dürer corrected this at once by again drawing with the brush the right arm on another sheet of paper. In this sketch, which is

* Waagen, *Treasures of Art*, i. 234, No. 190.

† The Albertina also possesses an old laboured copy of this sketch on a grey ground, and without any mark.

also in the Albertina, the arm, half life-size, and slightly seen from below, is extended, convulsively grasping, with the hand turned outwards, a long dagger, the point of which is directed lower down.

With the help of this latter study Dürer appears to have modified the arm of the Lucretia in the Munich picture, which had been done by him from the former sketch. This picture is identical with one seen by Van Mander in a private collection at Middelburg.* The nude figure of Lucretia, life-size, is represented standing at the foot of a bedstead furnished in burgher-like fashion with a red coverlid, blue bolster, &c. The position of the body, the meagre head, and the upturned look correspond exactly with the sketch, of which the picture reproduces all the merits and the defects. The figure stands out well, but the shadows are grey and the lights too white; while the cold red flesh tints give a metallic, laboured look to the well-rounded forms. This unpleasant appearance is increased by the injuries which the picture has suffered in many places. The lower part, however, on the left, where the date 1518 and the monogram are inscribed on a chest, is very fairly preserved.† This date agrees but too well with the cold, heavy, and in places broken colouring which Dürer would never have been guilty of ten years earlier.

* Schilderboeck, ed. 1618, fol. 132: 'Daer ist oock van zyn constighe handt een seer wel ghedaen en suyver Roomsche Lucretia, en is te sien by den constliefdighen Herr Melchior Wijntgis tot Middelburgh."

† Waagen in his Handbook, vol. i. p. 208, and in others of his works, as well as in his manuscript notes, states that the picture was painted in 1508; an error probably arising from the date of the drawing in the Albertina.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE ARTIST AND THE MAN.

"Every mother is pleased with her own child; whence it happens that many painters' works resemble themselves." DÜRER.

DÜRER'S All Saints picture is in every respect the most valuable testimony he has left us of his talent. It is an epitome of his life's work, a sort of microcosm, a reflection of his own mind at the very moment that he had reached the culminating point of his power. In no other work of the master can the many-sided aspect of his productions be so well discerned as in this Landauer altar-piece. Looking to the number of works which, indiscriminately and without critical examination, have been allotted to Dürer, it may be well at this point to determine what were the limits of his varied capabilities as artist and as man.

In the first place, and before all else, Dürer was a painter. He always deliberately so styled himself. The All Saints picture is the best witness to his complete mastery of the technique of painting; and it also exhibits side by side in a remarkable manner the three chief provinces of the painter's art. According to the triple æsthetic classification now current Dürer displays lyric qualities in the fine spreading landscape, epic qualities in the portraits of the donor and his family and the personages representing

the various classes of society, and dramatic qualities in the supreme apotheosis of the sacred Tragedy which he has fathomed to its utmost depth. Lastly, the portrait of himself, with the proud inscription on the tablet, bears witness to the important part played by his own personality in the great task of his life.

The All Saints picture, however, introduces Dürer to us as an architect and a sculptor as well as a painter. Nor are proofs wanting that he was fully competent as an architect. They may be found both in his printed books and in the manuscript works he left behind him.* In the latter are extracts from Vitruvius "on the Measurement of Buildings;" reproductions of old capitals; plans for the construction of the cupola of St. Peter's at Rome, traced, to judge from the handwriting of the measurements on the margin, by an Italian; and, besides other things, two elevations and five plans of a small house, probably Venetian. As to the story of his having painted the façade of a house at Venice,† it must be accepted with the greatest reserve, for there is no known example of a mural painting by Dürer. He himself, however, in the Netherlands Journal, speaks of having made a plan for a house that the chief physician of the Archduchess Margaret intended to build, and adds: "for this work I shall not willingly take less than ten florins." ‡ To judge from this statement, the plan must have been

* *Jahrbücher für Kunstw.* i. 17.

† Bottari, *Lettere pittoriche*, Milan, 1822. III. 349, No. 166 (Doni to Simone Carnesecchi, about the year 1550). Both the style and the punctuation of the whole passage appear to me suspicious. Speaking of the curiosities of Venice, it says: "A Vinegia quattro cavalli divini; le cose di Giorgione da Castelfranco pittore; la storia di Tiziano (uomo eccellentissimo). In palazzo la facciata della casa dipinta da Alberto Duro; in San Bartolommeo in particolare v' e lo studio del Bembo," &c. Do not the words "in palazzo" rather refer to Titian, and the words "in San Bartolommeo" to Dürer, and not to Bembo?

‡ *Dürers Briefe*, &c., p. 95.

tolerably elaborate. Dürer's reputation as an architect is further proved by the humorous letter of Charity, Pirkheimer's learned sister and Abbess of St. Clara, to the Nuremberg envoys at the Diet of Augsburg in 1518. She says:* "Albert Dürer, who is a good draughtsman and an ingenious man, can very well examine the buildings of the Order, and if later on we want to construct our choir differently, he will be able to give us help and advice as to having large windows so that our eyes may not be blinded." But whether Dürer ever practised as an architect, and if so where, we do not know.*

As a matter of fact, the frame of the All Saints picture is the only architectural memorial of Dürer that has come down to us; and for that reason we have thought it worth a careful examination. It is certainly remarkable how familiar Dürer was, even as early as 1508, with the architectural forms of the Renaissance. He had long before been persuaded of their excellence, and had endeavoured to express his conviction in the architectural accessories of his compositions. The first attempts are found in the 'Life of the Virgin' and in the 'Green Passion' of 1504, where, *e.g.* the fluted-column in the 'Flagellation' may be taken as indicating that he had in his mind a dim floating idea of the Corinthian order. But it was not until his second stay at Venice that Dürer thoroughly understood and appreciated the classical architecture of the fifteenth century. For though he maintained an independent attitude in painting, and declined to be guided by any previous examples, he was quite ready to study works in architecture and sculpture, the proportions of which were based upon an accumulation of traditional knowledge, and could be tested by intelligence, by experience, and by

* What tradition ascribes to him at Nuremberg is quite unauthenticated, as, for instance, the scroll-work reproduced in Heideloff's *Ornamente des Mittelalters*, 1838, vol. ii.

measurement. There were not, it is true, many good specimens of "antique" architecture in Venice at that time. But we can see what a powerful influence the graceful forms naturalised by the Lombard sculptors had upon Dürer. Among his drawings may be mentioned a coloured pen-sketch of a 'Holy Family,' dated 1508, in the Basle Museum, in which is seen a grand airy hall, with a barrel-vaulted roof, decorated with bays and supported on columns.* Another pen-sketch in the Albertina, crowded with numerous figures, representing Christ led to Calvary, and done with rare lightness and dash, contains some charming motives in the Renaissance style, among them a small portico with gable ends and bulging columns, showing altogether a marked advance. The date is probably 1511. It must be admitted that very soon after, Dürer, owing to the continued want of good models, relapsed into realistic vagaries. The Renaissance plant grew wild again, so to say, in the climate of the North. Proof of this is seen in the magnificent woodcut of 1515, called the 'Triumphal Arch of the Emperor Maximilian,' and still more in the examples of composition introduced here and there by Dürer in his *Unterweisung der Messung*, 'Instruction in Measurement,' published in 1525. He seems to have had no idea how far removed such exuberance in naturalistic detail was from the strict rules of the antique. He expected everything from the observance of exact proportion, and made unwearied investigations into the theoretical precepts of the ancients. To swerve from them or to place himself in opposition to them was very far from his intention. He closes an inquiry into the proportions of antique columns and intercolumniations with these words: "And it is perfectly true, as Vitruvius

* In the Print Room at Dresden there is a copy of this drawing, done with the pen in Indian ink on a brown ground, and heightened with gold.

says, that unless care be taken to keep the measurements exact, the work will be faulty, even though it be original."

The capital letters on the tablet which Dürer holds before him in the All Saints picture show that he followed similar tendencies in a neighbouring field of art. There is, indeed, a close affinity between the arts of building and writing. The latter is in a certain sense only a subdivision of the former, and is subject to the same laws and the same changes of style. Beautiful writing, too, has this in common with beautiful architecture, that it must subordinate and lend itself to a practical end, and this end in writing is legibility. Dürer was too cultivated not to be aware of the important influence such an art would have upon the taste of his fellow countrymen, and, like a true artist of the Renaissance, he strove to revive and bring into use, as the Italians had done, the antique capital letters seen in old Roman inscriptions. The resuscitation of this fine old lettering goes hand in hand with the rest of the Renaissance, but it is more especially due to those artists who were addicted to learning and the study of antiquity, such as Mantegna, Piero dal Borgo San Sepolcro, and Leonardo da Vinci. The Francesco da Bologna who invented the beautiful mosaic lettering for the learned publisher of Venice, Aldus Manutius, was probably no other than the celebrated painter and goldsmith Francesco Raibolini, called Il Francia.* But while the Italians had learned writers, who set about the theoretical and practical restoration of the antique alphabet under the influence of artists and their taste, Dürer took both tasks upon himself alone.

The first to merit recognition on this score is Felice Feliciano of Verona, the learned friend of Andrea Mantegna, to whom he dedicated one of his works, the *Epigram-*

* Antonio Panizzi, *Chi era Francesco da Bologna?* London, 1858.

*mata.** The characters he employs resemble very closely those on the Roman monuments from which they are borrowed, only the stems are slender and have bevelled edges just as if carved by the stonemason's chisel, and are quite in keeping with Mantegna's plastic tendencies. Later on the mathematician Luca Pacioli of Borgo San Sepolcro developed them still further as a sort of picturesque surface ornamentation in his *Divina Proporzione*, which, though finished in 1497, was not printed till 1509. The letters in it are fuller, more harmonious, and less stiff. From Luca's intimacy with Piero dal Borgo and Leonardo, it can hardly be doubted that the taste of these two artists exercised considerable influence over the form of his lettering.† Dürer follows Pacioli's alphabet pretty closely, but not without a certain show of independence, which manifests itself chiefly in simplifying the shape of the letters and in giving them more play.

Whether Dürer enjoyed the advantage of personal instruction from Pacioli at Venice in 1506, or whether he only derived what he knew from a study of the latter's book at Nuremberg, is a question which cannot be answered. At any rate Pacioli's work must have come into his hands soon after its appearance, for after 1509 all the inscriptions on his pictures, drawings, and publications, betray an acquaintance with principles which he did not formulate theoretically till 1525 in his *Unterweisung der Messung*, or at least did not publish till then.

The principle of Dürer's Roman A B C rests on the construction of each letter by rule and compass within a complete

* Richard Schöne, *Felicis Feliciani Veronensis opusculum ineditum, Ephemeris epigraphica*, 1852, pp. 255–269. This publication contains comparative tables of the alphabets employed by Feliciano, Pacioli, and Dürer. See also Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *History of Painting in North Italy*, i. 334.

† See above, i. 361.

square. The initial letters of the preface and chapters in this work, which are all faithfully copied from Dürer's own types, are examples of this style, and we have filled in the square that served for the construction of each letter with ornamentation taken from some of his own sketches and designs.* After having minutely described this Roman A B C, Dürer devotes a few words to the Gothic alphabet, which he calls "*alte Textur*," and which was afterwards styled "*Fractur*." He merely, however, constructed an alphabet of antique small letters, the stems of which resemble wide scrolls turned back obliquely at the angles. These scrolls seem to be composed simply of small squares one above the other, the end ones being placed diagonally, or shaped so as to present a triangular appearance. Dürer made use of this character, which corresponds with the type commonly employed in Germany even at the present day, especially in his earlier inscriptions, and it appears in the dedication at the bottom of the frame of the All Saints picture. But he was far from sharing the erroneous idea subsequently held that these old-fashioned Gothic letters were of German origin, or were at all German in character. All his predilections were in favour of that Renaissance alphabet which by his ingenious method of treatment he had made his own intellectual property. The recollection of it lingered in Germany well into the seventeenth century. Arnold Möller, a writing-master at Lübeck, inserted in his 'Writing Manual' (*Schreibbüchlein*), published in 1642, a copper engraving of Dürer's portrait, with the words: "Albert Dürer, who at Nuremberg during the lifetime of Johann

* With the exception of the O and the R at the beginning of Chaps. ix. and x., the ornament of which is taken from Wolgemut's and Barbari's engravings respectively. It is easy to see that these noble letters are in reality the same as the Germans are again beginning to gradually borrow from English and French sources.

Neudörffer was the first to distinguish and describe Roman capital letters according to their true proportions. He also excelled in many other arts, and his glorious name will remain as long as the world endures, &c." If, contrary to other civilised nations of the West, modern taste has not prevailed in Germany, and the Gothic mediæval fashion of French origin still regulates the form of type there, the responsibility for it attaches to Dürer least of all.

The carving on the frame of the All Saints picture strongly recalls Adam Kraft's manner. Dürer no doubt only composed the design, and had it afterwards executed by some able carver. The figures are judiciously in keeping with the different architectural divisions: on the projecting frieze they are in low relief, and on the sunk panel of the tympanum in high relief, while on the archivolt they are in the round. But what about the numerous sculptures in wood, hone-stone (the stone generally used in lithography), ivory, and various other materials, everywhere attributed to Dürer? Most of them have no other guarantee of authenticity than the very easily forged monogram; the quality of the work scarcely justifies the attribution at all. It is impossible to recognise them, with but very few exceptions, as anything but later productions, intended merely to fill the cabinets of collectors of antiquities. His contemporaries, it is true, Christoph Scheurl for instance, laud Dürer in general terms as a sculptor;* but the praise is as vague as that bestowed upon him for his architecture. Even though he has shown here and there in small pieces undoubted skill in the handling of the sculptor's tools, there is no proof of the works here spoken of being his; nor in any case can the sculptures

* This ardent panegyrist of Dürer writes in 1506 in his *Libellus de laudibus Germaniæ:* "Cæterum quid dicam de Alberto Durero Norinbergense? Cui consensu omnium et in pictura et in fictura aetate nostra principatus defertur."

hitherto assigned to him, albeit unanimously, be looked upon as the actual productions of his own hand.

The most celebrated of these works are the high reliefs in hone-stone, which, similar in dimensions and style to the woodcuts in the 'Life of the Virgin,' illustrate some incidents in the life of St. John the Baptist. The 'Visitation' is in the Episcopal Seminary at Bruges, the 'Birth of St. John' in the British Museum,* and the 'Preaching of St. John in the Wilderness' in the Museum at Brunswick; all with the date 1510 and the monogram. These reliefs might indeed be looked upon as fragments of a series devoted to the Baptist, only that the life of that saint did not in Germany come within the ordinary range of subjects, as it did in Italy. Smooth and skilful as the technical execution is, all these works are nothing but literal renderings into sculpture of wood engravings, for the strongly-accented outlines appear unmeaning in the absence of fulness and roundness in the forms. The attempt to realise the effect of pictorial perspective by means of varied gradations of surface is by no means so successful as Ghiberti's was. In fact, these highly-prized reliefs are nothing but successful forgeries. Their very affinity to Dürer's woodcuts is against their genuineness; for so thoughtful an artist was too well versed in the requirements of each method and material not to know that all the richness of a wood engraving gives but a poor effect when rendered in relief, just as, on the other hand, wood engraving is altogether incapable of interpreting plastic softness and roundness of surface.

The Ambras Museum at Vienna possesses four reliefs in hone-stone, representing similar episodes in the life of St. John, but a monogram formed of the letters S and G connected, and an old inscription at the back show them to

* Reproduced in Förster's *Denkmale der deutschen Kunst*, vol. vi.

be the work of Georg Schweigger, a sculptor of Nuremberg; they bear moreover the dates 1644, 1645, and 1648. Three of them are worked *à la* Dürer, and the motives are borrowed from his woodcuts. Though parts of these sculptures are in high relief and are modelled in a masterly manner here and there, they exhibit strong points of analogy with the flatter work just spoken of. The subjects represented are, the announcement of the birth of St. John by the angel to Zacharias in the temple, the Baptism of Christ in the Jordan, and the preaching of St. John in the Wilderness, which is exactly like the relief in the Brunswick Museum. The Baptist is standing on the left behind a horizontal beam, and raised above the other personages; in the background are the audience, very slightly in relief; in the right foreground is the lansquenet, who appears in the 'Ecce Homo' of the 'Great Passion,' together with the old man near him armed with a sword, whose figure is here only partially visible; and the sitting figure of a woman on the right is like one of those in the scene of the lying-in chamber in the 'Life of the Virgin.'* The fourth relief of the series—and this is what is so remarkable—represents the same subject, the preaching of St. John, not, however, in Dürer's style, but in the manner and with the costumes of the seventeenth century. It is either therefore an imitation of some other master, or else an original composition of Schweigger's own. Perhaps the latter wanted, by placing the two side by side, to give a proof of his skill; and indeed he deserves admiration both for the technical finish of his work, as well as for the cleverness of the reproduction. We shall not be far wrong in attributing to the sculptor of the remarkable works in the Ambras collection the three spurious reliefs of 1510.

* See the photographs published by the Baron E. von Sacken in *Kunstwerke und Geräthe in der K. K. Ambraser Sammlung*, p. 32, pl. xviii.

NUDE FEMALE FIGURE.

(From the Low Relief in Silver belonging to the Imhoff Family.)

To face p. 47, Vol. II.

At any rate these reliefs have more in common with the over-done, pseudo-Düreresque sculptures signed by Schweigger than with anything that can be attributed to Dürer himself, who would certainly have worked in a simpler manner. Georg Schweigger was born at Nuremberg in 1613 and died there in 1690. He was highly esteemed as a master in all kinds of sculpture and metal-founding.* Among his smaller works in metal, are the portraits of Pirkheimer and Melanchthon in the Royal Gallery at Berlin, done from Dürer's copper engravings.

A further proof of our doubts is furnished by a small plastic work which more than any other bears the stamp of genuineness. It is a charming low relief in silver of 1509, representing a nude female figure seen from behind. I have not indeed seen the original, but the plaster cast from which the woodcut here given has been drawn, the same size as the original, shows so much that is peculiar to Dürer, that the genuineness of the work appears to me undoubted, more especially as it is supported by external evidence. There is a figure of Eve in the same position in a pen-drawing in the Albertina representing the Fall, executed in 1510.† Although in very low relief, the forms of the body stand out perfectly, and have an air of delicacy and refinement rarely given by Dürer to any of his figures. Such qualities, however, were admirably in keeping with the destination of this silver plaque, which in fact formed one of the ornamental angles of a small casket presented to Helena Imhoff on her marriage with Sebald Reich in 1509.‡ Considering the close

* Doppelmayr, *Nachricht*, 246.

† Engraved by A. Bartsch in 1786. It is a preparatory study for one of the engravings in the 'Little Passion.' (Bartsch, No. 17.)

‡ The casket is still in the possession of the Imhoff family. There are similar plaques on the other three corners: one bears an unknown monogram, the others have none at all; and they are all three supposed to be of later date. On the lid of the casket, which is already damaged, are the combined arms, somewhat roughly

relations that existed between Dürer and the father of the bride, the elder Hans Imhoff, who was, so to say, the painter's banker, it may be presumed that the plaque was a present from Dürer. The entire casket was probably the gift of several friends, of whom he was one. It may too have come from the workshop of his brother Andreas, the goldsmith, and in that case very likely Albert through kindness furnished the design for this one plaque. That he could ever have taken orders for work of this kind is, however, scarcely probable, though working in metal was by no means unfamiliar to him, he having become acquainted with it while serving an apprenticeship as a goldsmith with his father. There is authentic evidence, too, that Dürer looked upon this essay in sculpture as something quite out of his way, and that he attached very great importance to its success. For the little figure of which we are speaking is no doubt identical with the one he sent to the Elector Frederick of Saxony in 1509, which got lost on the road, nothing but the empty packing-box reaching its destination. As soon as he was informed of this by Anton Tucher, Dürer had another cast done and sent to the Elector. All the circumstances point to its having been the little relief of 1509.* Whether Dürer tried his great aptitude for sculpture on other materials, as is generally supposed, must remain undetermined. For my own part I have not been able, at any rate up to the present time, to recognise as genuine any of the sculptures attributed to him in public collections. They all of them are totally opposite in character to the finished and truly sculptural execution of the silver plaque.†

worked, of the Reichs and the Imhoffs. I am indebted for these details to the Baron G. von Imhoff.

* There is an old copy, done in wood, in the Munich Museum.

† It is needless to enumerate the sculptures attributed to Dürer in different places. There is, for example, in the collection of Baron Rothschild at Vienna, a portrait medallion of

Still more doubtful is the authenticity of certain medallions which have Dürer's monogram on them and are attributed to him. The following may be mentioned as the three best known and most highly prized: a portrait of Dürer's father, which is said to have been modelled in 1514, twelve years after the latter's death, and when the son was comparatively young; here the monogram and date, which are the sole grounds of its attribution, are, as every expert can see, false. And the same may be said of the two other medallions dated 1508. One of these, the bust of a woman, seen in front, with hair hanging down, is said to be Dürer's wife; but there is no doubt that this head, inclined to one side and looking upwards, and altogether without meaning apart from the figure to which it belongs, is taken from the 'Lucretia' of 1518, in the Munich Pinakothek, or rather from the study for that picture in the Albertina.* As to the so-called profile of Wolgemut in the third medallion, it is enough to compare the receding forehead and chin, the protruding upper lip, and the long turned-up nose, with our

Sebald Schreyer in hone-stone, with Dürer's monogram on it, of which contemporary writers declare they knew the author personally, and which nevertheless differs but little in character from other similar works.—Waagen, *Kuntsdenkmäler Wiens*, i. 330.

* See above, p. 35. The corresponding engraving, by Joh. Friedr. Leonhard, bears in its second state the inscription "*Agnes Alberti Dureri conjux*, J.F.L." There is also in the British Museum a small head carefully done in chiaroscuro on brown paper, which Waagen considers to be a study for the picture of Lucretia. Both the Louvre at Paris, and the Ambras collection at Vienna, have replicas in hone-stone of the medallions we have mentioned, and also with the date 1508. On the back of the one at Vienna is written in a handwriting of the seventeenth century, "*Filia Alberti Dureri.*" In the *Untersuchungen über Albrecht Dürer*, p. 25 *et seq.*, and in the *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, Berlin, 1875, p. 362 *et seq.*, A. von Sallet pleads for the genuineness of the three medallions. In the latter publication are phototype reproductions of the two pieces just described. All the three medallions are reproduced in Will, *Münzbelustigung*, i. 321, 369; iv. 139. And the third is given in Doppelmayr, *Nachricht*, pl. xv.

reproduction of the original drawing for Dürer's portrait of his master.* The thick misshapen neck and the cap on the back of the head remind one of the spurious drawings in the Derschau and Heller collections, in which the profile is always turned to the left. The fancy for coins and medallions and the rage for making numismatic collections did not come into vogue at Nuremberg till towards the end of the sixteenth century, and the productions which the great demand then called forth were at times anything but successful. That Dürer, the glory of Nuremberg, and every one nearly connected with him, should always have been objects of lively interest to their successors is conceivable, but it is certainly surprising that such an artist should have left nothing but medallions of his father, his master, and his wife. Moreover those of the first two were most assuredly done from the portraits painted by him. There is besides a saying of Dürer's own, which effectually protects him from having such curiosities any longer attributed to him. In 1509, just when the relief of the nude female figure was on the point of being sent off, the Elector Frederick forwarded to Nuremberg two coins or medals, one of which was shown to Dürer, and his advice asked as to how it should be cast so as to render it "durable." He replied that "he was not accustomed to occupy himself with such things, and could not consequently give the Elector any satisfactory information." †

And yet working in metals was that branch of plastic art with which Dürer, as one who had learned the goldsmith's trade, was most familiar. He himself indeed shows that he was experienced in metal casting, when in illustration of the proposition that no two works of art can be exactly alike, he says: "For we see that two impressions from the

* Vol. i. p. 93.

† Baader, *Beiträge*, ii. 35. With regard to the spurious profile drawings, see vol. i. p. 184.

same plate, or two casts from the same mould always present points of difference, and can be distinguished from one another by numerous peculiarities. And if this is the case in things that are done with mechanical precision, how much more so in those that are done freely with the hand."* But to allow that Dürer was often occupied in this field would be to mistake the trade relations of that period. The working of precious metals was subjected to special supervision, and the goldsmiths had a regular guild which would not have allowed any invasion of their rights. Dürer may indeed have had opportunities of doing some work of his own in his brother Andreas's workshop, though such occasions can at the most have been only exceptional. But his good nature and readiness to oblige no doubt often caused him to be asked to furnish, either as a favour or as a commission, designs for goldsmiths and other workers in metal. Proofs of this are not wanting both in writing and in actual examples. In his Netherlands Journal he once mentions having made a drawing of a lady's wreath for some Antwerp goldsmiths.† Another time he designed three sword-hilts for his friend Tommaso Bombelli.‡ On one of his manuscript sheets in the Dresden Library are sketches of six Gothic beakers with bosses, with the following words written at the side, in the handwriting of his youth: "To-morrow I will do some more,"—evidently intended for the information of the person who had given him the order. There are other examples of similar designs in the Kunsthalle at Bremen, as for example the pen sketches on prepared paper of winged horses with fishes' tails, and of a cock with a hole to hang it up by. The British Museum has five designs for spoon

* *Proportionslehre*, T. reverse side.

† Campe, *Reliquien*, 86: "I have sketched a design for a wreath for the goldsmiths."

‡ Campe, *Reliquien*, p. 133.

handles. But his advice was no doubt also sought for larger works in bronze or red metal, as instanced by the pen sketch in the Uffizii at Florence, of a knight standing on a lion, and a woman on a dog, which probably served Peter Vischer as a model for his tombs at Römhild and Hechingen.* Another equally charming drawing in the British Museum shows us the kneeling figures of a knight and his wife surrounded by vine-leaf ornamentation; the head of the lady is sketched again on the margin with a different cap, and above are the words, "Do whichever head you like," showing that Dürer left the choice to the person who was going to carry out the design. All these examples tend to prove how little plastic work Dürer actually did himself.

There is no occasion, without very cogent reasons, to encumber the list of Dürer's works with doubtful examples. What he actually executed himself is so considerable and so varied in character that it is difficult, for instance, to take stock of the productions of the middle period of his career. These are so far beyond anything that the most fertile artist could absolutely carry out, that any conjectures based upon the probabilities of the case could give but an imperfect idea of his activity, were it not that he himself has luckily taken care to date most of his compositions. Many of them must have cost both time and trouble, and some of them display an amount of patience that accomplished what genius alone could never have done. Take, for instance, a precious little memento of his skill as a painter on glass which is in the Ambras collection at Vienna.† It represents the holy women weeping

* R. Bergau, *Anzeiger für Kunst der Vorzeit*, 1869, No. 12, and supplement, 1871, p. 280. The date 1517 and the monogram on the drawing were not put on by Dürer, and therefore no conclusion can be drawn from them.

† It is enclosed in a narrow lead frame, and measures 0m.21 high by 0m.065 wide. With the exception of a crack it is well preserved. There is a lithograph of it by Joseph Schönbrunner in the *Mittheilungen der K. K. Centralcommission*, viii. 1863.

round the dead Christ. The admirable foreshortening of the corpse, the look of sorrow on the noble countenances of the women, all is in the mature style of the 'Passion' and the 'Life of the Virgin.' The outlines are traced with the pen and the brush in black smalt, the middle tones lightly laid in, and the lights picked out with the point of the needle. In the Gothic twig-work round the top of the picture are two climbing cherubs, and in the middle hangs a tablet with the date 1504 and the monogram. The tender half-tints among the twig-work are picked out with fine white lines, forming a most delicate decoration. Compared with the ordinary kind of painting on glass for church windows this little picture of Dürer's, which was only intended for a room, has all the effect of a most careful miniature painting or rather drawing. An inexhaustible desire to thoroughly sift and investigate everything led Dürer to try and bring all the known methods of technical procedure to the utmost pitch of perfection as well as to make experiments with new ones.

Thus he never abandoned the old miniature painting in tempera on parchment and paper, though he usually employed it for careful drawings of plants and animals in which he actually rivalled nature itself. A masterpiece of this kind is the dead jay * in the Albertina. The bird, which is the most remarkable in Germany for the brightness of its plumage, is lying with its breast uppermost, and is rather less than the size of life. On another sheet of parchment is the outer side of its outspread left wing. Both paintings bear the genuine date of 1512. The masterly character of the execution beggars all description. The deep brilliancy of the ultramarine is surpassed by the play of colour in the less marked passages; all possible means are taken to give its full value to each tiny feather, even to the use of

* Coracias garrula, according to Linnæus.

gold in the grey ruffled feathers of the throat. In order to do away with any sort of resistance to the brush, Dürer first wetted that part of the parchment on which he was about to paint, and then polished it with some instrument.* Similar in treatment and of equal excellence are the two wings of a jay, some single feathers of the same bird, some parrots' feathers, and a mussel, all on a large unmarked sheet of paper in the Berlin Museum. An unfinished water-colour drawing of a live jay, formerly belonging to Mr. C. S. Bale, and bearing the spurious date 1509, is more broadly handled; as also is a dead sparrow in the Hausmann collection, now the property of Dr. Blasius at Brunswick. Herr Hasse of Göttingen possesses a heron drawn on parchment of the year 1515, which was formerly in the Grünling collection at Vienna. With these drawings may be classed a number of sketches of plants and flowers in the Albertina, the Bremen Kunsthalle, and certain English collections, drawn with botanical accuracy, and all undoubtedly genuine, though it is difficult to exactly distinguish between them and the many spurious pieces falsely attributed to the master. In Dürer's later years the studies of this kind became more and more stiff and hard, as though they were done for their objective and scientific rather than their artistic interest.

One large painting on parchment by Dürer exists of the year 1516, 'the Virgin with the Pink,' in the Royal Gallery

* Old copies of this wing are to be found in the Heller collection, in the Bamberg Library, and in Herr von Lana's collection at Prague; this last formerly belonged to Erasmus Engert at Vienna. Mr. Alfred Morrison has two water-colours, exactly in Dürer's manner, representing the outside of the right wing and the back of the same bird. They are all probably by Hans Hofmann. A similar miniature on parchment representing the back of the same kind of bird, but of somewhat larger dimensions, bears Hofmann's monogram: it belongs to Herr Artaria at Vienna.

at Augsburg.* The head of the Virgin is life-size; the face, seen in front, has regular oval features; only a little of the shoulders is visible; the robe is red, the background a rich green. In her hand is a red pink, while the Child, who is clad in a white shirt, and only half of whose body is visible, holds a pear. Though the head of the Virgin looks too large for the size of the picture, and the whole is altogether too crowded, it must originally have had a charming effect. The fair hair of the Virgin and the palm of her hand, as well as the head of the Infant, whose features wear a kindly expression, show traces of the delicate miniature-like execution. The picture has been much injured by cleaning. The parchment was evidently mounted on the panel to which it still is fastened before the painting was begun, the first coat being laid on afterwards. Herr Eigner, the keeper of the Museum at Augsburg, has by fresh cleaning and restoration brought back some of the old brightness.

In the year 1510 Dürer gave a proof of the peculiar delicacy of his workmanship in a chiaroscuro diptych, the original destination of which is unknown, but it was probably intended for a domestic altar-piece. It represents a favourite Scripture parallel—Christ rising from the tomb, and His prototype Samson slaying the Philistines with the jaw-bone of an ass. This work is mentioned for the first time in the 1573 inventory of the Imhoff collection: † "Two small pictures joined together, done in Indian ink by A. Dürer, with small figures of Samson and of Christ rising from the tomb; valued at 20 florins." And again, in the inventories of 1580 and 1588: "Item, a little dark picture in two parts shutting together," &c. From a later

* Dr. Posonyi at Vienna has an old copy in oil of this Virgin, which formerly belonged to Koller. See Waagen, *Kunstdenkm. von Wien*, i. 338.

† Eye, *A. Dürer*. Analytical Table, No. 22.

entry it appears to have been sold to the Emperor Rudolph II. It was in the Imperial Gallery at Vienna up to 1783.* One part, the 'Resurrection,' must have been disposed of shortly afterwards; it came into the collection of the Prince de Ligne,† whence it passed for 40 florins to the Albertina. The other half, 'Samson slaying the Philistines,' fell into the hands of General Andréossy at the time of the French invasion, and was carried off to Paris; it was restored to Vienna by Herr A. Posonyi, and passed with the rest of his collection‡ to M. Hulot, who brought it back to Paris. It is now in the Berlin Museum. This wing not having been so much exposed has suffered less than the other, and is consequently not so blackened and rubbed.

The composition of each of the wings is divided into three parts, harmoniously placed one above the other, and joined to one another by an elegant architectural design in the style of the Renaissance. The upper part, which is the largest of the three, contains the principal subject surmounted by a round arch supported on pillars. Samson, nearly naked, and in an energetic attitude similar to that in which the Renaissance was wont to depict Hercules, smites with the ass's jawbone the fully-armed Philistines, who fall pell-mell on one another. In the mountainous background on the left he is seen vanquishing the lion and carrying off the gates of Gaza; while on the right, beneath the portal of one of the square towers of the town, Delilah is cutting off his hair. In the extreme right foreground is a slender tapering column, with a rich Corinthian-like capital surmounted

* Ch. de Mechel, *Verzeichniss*, &c., p. 231, No. 6: "Two drawings executed with great care on grey paper, and heightened with white, in a frame under glass. The first represents the achievements of Samson, the other the Resurrection of Christ, &c. Each drawing is 12 inches high by 6 inches wide."

† Bartsch, *Catalogue*, 1794, p. 138. It has been lithographed by Pilizotti.

‡ Catalogue, p. 56, No. 324.

by a small armed figure; its base rises from the second part of the composition and is covered with rams' heads and other ornaments, while the plinth terminates in a sort of large onion-shaped top, the peg of which two little winged boys are making great efforts to put into a socket. This graceful column forms in a way the ideal pivot on which the two wings of the diptych turn, and at the same time it takes the place in the left wing of the clustered pillar and the archivolt with which the right wing is more richly decorated, while it also serves to connect the upper and lower parts of the composition. In a word the harmony and freedom which reign between the two parts and the corresponding ornaments show an altogether unusual genius for invention.

The 'Resurrection' on the other wing is arranged in a very similar manner to the woodcut of the same subject in the 'Great Passion,' which also bears the same date, 1510. The fact of the drapery of Christ being exactly reversed makes the correspondence between the two designs undoubted. Below the principal scenes, and between the plinths of the pilaster on either side, is a frieze, on which are depicted the antics of two satyrs or little demons with horns and goat's feet, who are drolly holding their heads as if a large ball which is immediately under the figure of Samson had hit them on the forehead. The spaces between are filled with vases of flowers. On the corresponding part of the other wing, below the figure of Christ, and on either side of a peculiar-shaped tablet without any inscription, are two similar balls, while the little demons crouching against the plinths of the pillars, and with their backs turned, hide their faces in their hands and appear to be weeping bitterly. The third compartment below forms a sort of predella or base. On the Samson wing are at either end two little winged infants mounted on dolphins, and in the centre, held up by two satyr-like figures, is a tablet with rings, and

inscribed as follows: "ALBERTUS DURER NORENBERGENSIS FACIEBAT POST VIRGINIS PARTUM 1510," with the monogram below. The predella of the other wing presents almost exactly similar features.

Since it was only in his large pictures that Dürer introduced this kind of inscription, it is evident that he considered this diptych of some importance, as indeed is further proved by the preliminary studies made for it. In the Ambrosian Library at Milan is a clever pen-drawing on white paper for the 'Slaughter of the Philistines.' Another drawing done with the brush on green-tinted paper, and more closely resembling, both in composition and size, the left wing as finally completed, is in the Beuth-Schinkel Museum at Berlin. There is, however, this difference, that in the centre across a slightly raised platform is stretched the figure of a man entirely enveloped in drapery, his arms crossed, one foot lightly resting on the other, the head a little on one side, the eyes shut and the mouth open, as though in profound sleep after excessive exertion. Dürer seems to have intended this for a sleeping Samson. We may also mention a slight but charming pen-sketch in the Blasius collection for the right wing of the diptych, where the centre, immediately below the 'Resurrection,' is occupied by a corpse wrapped in a winding sheet, meant, no doubt, to represent the dead body of Christ. All these accessory episodes were wisely omitted by Dürer in the actual execution of the work. And what execution! It is the most delicate and finished of all his drawings. The outlines and cross-hatchings stand out so clearly and distinctly in black and white on a violet grey ground that even one so skilled in technique as Adam Bartsch could conceive the existence of an engraving underneath.*

* *Catalogue de la Collection du Prince de Ligne*, 1794, p. 139: "Dessin d'une exactitude si étonnante, que l'on croirait presque que les contours en sont gravés et retravaillés au pinceau par Dürer lui-même," &c.

Nor in the art of engraving was Dürer a whit more contented with the proficiency he had already attained. He sought not merely to handle the graver with increased delicacy and freedom, but tried all sorts of new methods of procedure in order to arrive at greater perfection. At the same time he occupied himself less with the burin after his return from Venice. He devoted himself, as we have seen, entirely to painting pictures, as if he hoped, by great exertions, to overcome the unfavourable conditions which surrounded that branch of art in his own country. The only thing he did in 1507 was the first small plate of the Passion in Copper, the 'Descent from the Cross,'* and in the year after the two following plates.† To the year 1508 belong the 'St. George on Horseback'‡ and the little figure of the 'Virgin crowned with stars, standing on a crescent moon and presenting a pear to the Infant Jesus,'§ both devotional images for sale in the market; also the large engraving of 'The Cross,'‖ as it is called in his diary by Dürer himself, which represents the crucified Saviour, and at His feet the sorrowing disciples, whose anguish is portrayed with a force nowhere else attained in any of the master's finished works. He was evidently inspired here, for the last time it is true, by Mantegna; indeed the St. John on the right, clasping his hands, and with his mouth open as though uttering cries of agony, is directly taken from the Italian artist's 'Entombment.'

It was not until 1511 and 1513 that Dürer's two most beautiful engravings of the Virgin were done. They are very much alike, and in each case she is represented seated at the foot of a tree in the middle of a landscape. In one of them she has the Child on her lap in the act of blessing; this is

* Bartsch, 14.

† *Idem*, 4 & 5, 'Christ on the Mount of Olives' and 'The Betrayal.'

‡ *Idem*, 54. See however vol. i. p. 315.

§ *Idem*, 31.

‖ *Idem*, 24.

called the 'Virgin with the Pear.'* In the other she presses Him most tenderly to her bosom.† This latter composition is similar in motive to Raphael's 'Virgin of the Casa Tempi' at Munich. In both cases the Child lays His cheek against His mother's, and looks at the spectator. The two plates are very deeply engraved and are wonderfully brilliant.

When Dürer got tired of the "laborious toil" of painting and again took to engraving, he rapidly finished the Passion in Copper, on which he had hitherto worked very slowly. Ten of the sixteen small plates of which it consists are dated 1512; the last plate alone, which evidently is outside the scope of the work and which represents the 'Healing of the Lame Man by St. Peter and St. Paul,'‡ was added in 1513. Dürer can never have meant the series to end in this way; and we may suppose that his intention was to have completed it with additional plates, but that the project, like so many others, came to nothing, or was unavoidably broken off. These separate engravings have become too popular to need description. It is certainly wonderful that throughout the series, spread as its execution was over a number of years, Dürer should have maintained the same high degree of excellence. The method is the same as in the 'Adam and Eve' of 1504, but the ground generally is more filled in, and the modelling has been obtained more by means of the shadows than the lights. In default of any plate which might be considered as a formal ending to the Passion in Copper, there is one which chronologically as well as ideally forms a conclusion to it, viz. the splendid engraving of the head of Christ on a white napkin held by two angels floating in the air.§ It is true that it is square

* Bartsch, 41. The Berlin Museum has a slight pen-sketch for this engraving. (Posonyi Collection, No. 326.)

† Bartsch, 35.

‡ *Idem*, 18.

§ *Idem*, 25.

in form and of larger size, still the date of its execution (1513) and the delicacy of the engraving show that it belongs to the series. Another and altogether extrinsic reason, however, based upon technical considerations, seems to me to have prevented Dürer from continuing the Passion in Copper, and this was the alteration which in 1514 took place in his method of procedure, and which would have rendered it impossible for him to have made any pieces done according to the new method harmonise with the others. Each added plate would have very much injured the similarity of style so carefully preserved throughout the series.

From the year 1510 Dürer never ceased to make fresh essays in technical procedure, which were destined to be of the greatest importance for the future of engraving on copper. Already that famous artist of the Netherlands, whom, as his name is still undiscovered, we call with Duchesne, the Master of 1480, or rather of the Amsterdam Cabinet, had practised in his numerous and yet now very rare engravings a method the delicacy and velvety effect of which must be attributed to the use of the dry point. Wolgemut imitated with success some of the small plates of this master, and Dürer subsequently endeavoured to work in his style on the copper with more lightness and freedom. His first attempt appears to have been the 'St. Veronica' of 1510.* This small plate resembles the one of the same subject by Schongauer. The design is simple, the handling of the dry point awkward, and the impression blurred at the corners of the strokes. The same method is carried

* Bartsch, 64. Only two impressions of it are known. One is in the Albertina, from which the modern copy by A. Petrak has been done. The other, at the sale by auction of the Verstolk Collection at Amsterdam in 1851, fetched 410 florins, and became the private property of the King of Saxony; it now belongs to his widow.

further in the 'Man of Sorrows,' standing erect with bound hands and wrapped in a mantle, and the date of which is 1512. * But the complete development of the technique first appears in the 'St. Jerome under the Willow Tree,' also of 1512. † At the bottom of a steep gorge the aged saint, uncovered to the waist, is seated in front of a plank, which serves as a table, and with his hands joined in prayer before a crucifix. In the left foreground lies the lion, and on the right is a willow tree partly denuded of branches. On a scroll at the top is the date 1512, and on the rock near the centre on the left, is Dürer's monogram in large characters. The British Museum and the Albertina each possess an impression taken previous to the insertion of the monogram, and these, together with a few rare ones taken after its insertion, alone give us any idea of what Dürer sought to realise. They have a depth of colouring and an effect of light such as Rembrandt afterwards was the first to introduce into etching, and recall involuntarily his rendering of the same subject. ‡ With what consummate skill does Dürer at the first attempt treat a method so full of promise in the future. The similarity of gradation and tone in the first impressions would lead one to suppose that the two artists employed the same method of procedure, and it is difficult to conceive Rembrandt's not having taken Dürer's first attempts as a model. The latter, however, went no further, for he executed only one more plate, of somewhat larger size, in the same way with the etching needle, viz. the 'Holy Family by the Wall,' § with St. Mary Magdalen and two men on the right. Although this engraving bears no mark it belongs without doubt to the same or the following year. The Virgin is seated in the middle, with pearls in her

* Bartsch, 21.
† *Idem*, 59.
‡ *Idem*, 103, 104.
§ *Idem*, 43.

hair and a veil on her head, looking down at the Child, and is one of the noblest figures that Dürer ever conceived. This engraving also can only be judged of by the first rare impressions. The later and more ordinary ones, like those of the two plates already mentioned, give but a bald skeleton idea of the work itself, and reflect poorly the original effect; the fact being that the engraving was too slightly done to allow of many impressions being taken without the plate becoming worn. It was no doubt this experience which induced Dürer to so soon give up the new method. He did not yet understand how, by continual retouching, to make so slightly-engraved a plate capable of being constantly printed from, or rather how to renew it by fresh work, either because the idea never occurred to him, or because the task was too troublesome, or not altogether compatible with his method.

The four engravings just described are generally held to have been engraved directly on the copper plate with the dry point;* and in the existing impressions, especially the early ones, such for instance as are blurred, it is difficult to recognise any other effect but that produced by the etching-needle. At the same time I cannot help thinking that Dürer tried to fix his design on the copper with aquafortis, but that, owing to the acid being too weak to bite into the metal, he was obliged to go over the lines again with the needle, in order to make the plates fit to engrave from; and even then no great durability resulted. In the case of the engraving last mentioned, the 'Holy Family by the Wall,' this method does not seem at all to have answered his expectation. Probably the work was not a success before the application of the acid, and hence the want of clearness even

* See, for the discovery of the art of etching, E. Harzen, *Archiv für zeichn. Künste*, 1859, v. 119 *et seq.*

in the best proofs; the lines in fact did not hold the aqua-fortis and allow it to bite in properly. This is perhaps the reason why Dürer gave up finishing the plate, and why as a consequence it has remained without any mark. It would lead us too far if I were to attempt to enter into all the subtle technicalities which might be discovered with the help of a magnifying glass; nor would the results be in the least conclusive, unless we could bring chemistry and its teaching to our aid. We have no knowledge either as to which of the mathematicians and physicists then living at Nuremberg may have been Dürer's adviser in these matters. Until, therefore, we are better informed we must be content with the more generally admitted ideas on the subject.

The art of etching on iron did not long remain a mystery to Dürer. There are etchings of his dated 1515, which show that he fully understood the process. Indeed, there is one unsigned plate, containing, so far as its size allowed, designs for five different figures, quite unconnected with one another, which may belong to the year 1514. No doubt it is a mere essay in the art of etching, and certain favourite studies taken at random from his portfolio were made use of for the purpose. Bartsch was quite right in seeing no particular meaning in this plate, and giving it no precise title. The figure of the man in the middle kneeling is evidently contemporary with the journey in Italy; at least, the rounded limbs point to an Italian model, and the contrasts in their various positions recall the *contrapposto* of Andrea Contucci, the elder Sansovino, and of Michel Angelo.* On the right is the upper part of a recumbent female figure; and above

* Herr C. von Lutzow has called my attention to the resemblance between this figure and the crouching anatomical one of Michel Angelo. The 'Eros,' an early work of Michel Angelo in the South Kensington Museum, is in the same attitude. It would be the only instance of the great Florentine having exercised any influence over Dürer.

the kneeling man is a satyr and the head of an old man. On the left is the half figure of a man in profile, done from a pen-sketch preserved in the Albertina. This man, who in the sketch is represented with a cap and in his shirt sleeves, turned completely to the left and resting his forearm on what is probably intended for a table, is no other than Dürer's brother Andreas. The etching is exactly in reverse, only that the head is less sharply turned and has a slight beard. As the hasty sketch which Dürer had before him when he made this essay in etching has the genuine date 1514 on it, the latter probably was done in the same year.

After so satisfactory an attempt no further difficulty was experienced in the application of the process of etching on iron and steel. In 1515 Dürer etched the small seated figure of the 'Man of Sorrows,'* and afterwards the large one of 'Christ on the Mount of Olives,' seen in profile kneeling to the right.† The drawing for the latter, done with the pen in reverse, and presenting a very remarkable *pentimento* in the robe, is in the Albertina; where also is a second much better study for the same figure, seen more in front and with similar draperies—one, indeed, of the noblest representations of Christ ever done by Dürer. Two other etchings belong to the year 1516; one of them the abduction of a nude woman by a nude man, mounted on a fantastic sort of unicorn, which is springing to the right.‡ It is a large plate, and probably represents some mythological subject, though hardly, as Heller conjectures, the rape of Proserpine by Pluto. The freedom with which this plate is done reaches complete ease in the etching of the angel in the sky holding the white handkerchief of St. Veronica,§ designed most probably directly on the metal itself. Thus master of the

* Bartsch, 22.
† *Idem*, 19.
‡ *Idem*, 72.
§ *Idem*, 26.

process, Dürer used it again in the large square plate of 1518, called 'The Cannon.'* A large field-piece, with the arms of Nuremberg on it and surrounded by foot-soldiers, is being looked at with respectful astonishment by five Turks, for whom it is no doubt intended as a warning, and in the background are the plains of the native land it is destined to protect. All these six etchings were actually printed from iron or steel plates, as the peculiar spots of rust on the late impressions prove.

As chance would have it Dürer, in this his last etching, represented objects for the ornamentation of which the new method was peculiarly adapted, and which promised it a rich future, viz. arms and armour. For the rich decoration of corselets, helmets, and armour of all kinds which was then coming into fashion, the etching with acid on the metal was a much easier and more finished method than the old one of engraving. There soon began to spring up in every town a regular class of artizans called "painter etchers." Dürer himself seems to have encouraged the use of aquafortis for ornamenting a knight's armour—so at least I conclude from three pen-sketches of the year 1517, in which different parts of a suit of mail are represented. Two of these are in the Albertina, the one a drawing of a very projecting vizor, the other of an armpiece, with the word "*gardepras*" against it in Dürer's hand; the third, in the Berlin Museum,† is perhaps meant for a shoulder guard. The rich picturesque ornamentation shown in these drawings can hardly have been intended for any other purpose but to serve as a pattern for etching. In its details it recalls sometimes the decorations on the Triumphal Arch, and sometimes the marginal illustrations on the Emperor Maximilian's Prayer Book; and it is highly probable that the magnificent suit

* Bartsch, 99. † No. 333 in the Posonyi catalogue.

of armour for which the designs were made was destined for "the last of the knights," Maximilian himself; Dürer being, as we shall afterwards see, in his service at that time.

From all we know at present Dürer is the inventor of etching. Harzen's view,* that Daniel Hopfer of Augsburg learnt the art from some Lombard armourers, and introduced it into Germany, and that Dürer subsequently acquired it on the occasion of a journey to Augsburg in 1515, of which no record exists, is entirely without foundation. Dürer, it is well known, was never at Augsburg before 1518, and there is nothing to prove that Hans Burgkmair and the Hopfers, who were in the habit of copying Dürer, practised etching on steel before him. Moreover, experienced connoisseurs assure me that no example exists of armour etched with aquafortis previous to 1520. So long then as no tenable objection can be brought forward, the honour of the invention remains with Dürer. In my opinion the state of the case is this. Led either by his own reflections or by the advice of some of his learned friends to turn his attention to etching, Dürer first made trial of it on copper between the years 1510 and 1514. But as the acid did not bite sufficiently into the metal, it became necessary to work upon the plate with the dry point, and even then no adequate number of impressions could be obtained. Dürer therefore gave up the attempt, and began in 1514 to etch designs on steel plates. In this he succeeded perfectly, and obtained extraordinarily clear, sharp impressions, which needed no touching up. He did not, however, make any great use of the process, because the intractable material precluded all delicacy of execution, and consequently offered no advantages which were not possessed in a higher degree by wood engraving; and, moreover, the

* *Archiv für zeichn. Künste*, 1859, v. p. 133.

polished steel could not in the long run be kept free from rust.

But if Dürer was by no means satisfied with the results of etching pure and simple, he found in the employment of aquafortis a welcome means of rendering engraving on copper easier and more perfect. It would otherwise be impossible, to me at least, to explain how it was that in 1514, when he gave up the practice of etching on copper, and finishing the work with the needle, his copper engravings assume a totally different character from what they had before. Instead of the deep black tones, the sharp contrasts of light and shade, and above all, the sort of transparent light which, if we take good early impressions only, distinguish all the plates previous to 1513, and even those of that year, such as the 'Virgin at the Tree,'* the 'Head of Christ' on a napkin held by two angels,† and the famous 'Knight, Death, and the Devil,'‡ we have in the later engravings a peculiar, pale, even appearance, and that tender silver-grey hue which has so admirable an effect. The Virgin seated at the foot of a wall§ would appear to show the transition from the old to the new process; it is unequal in treatment, and the hard black lines seen in earlier plates are discernible in the flesh of the Infant and the head of the Virgin. This engraving therefore constitutes the border line between the two methods. To the newly adopted one on the other hand belong the Virgin with short hair, standing on the crescent moon,‖ and the six other plates of 1514, of which the 'Melancholy' and the 'St. Jerome in his Chamber' are the most important. The sudden change would seem to indicate a radically different technical method, but unfortunately there is no proof impression of any work of the period

* Bartsch, 35.
† *Idem*, 25.
‡ *Idem*, 98.
§ *Idem*, 40.
‖ *Idem*, 33.

subsequent to 1508, by which some light might be thrown upon the matter. Judging by such sources of information as we possess, I can only attribute the contrast which exists to the difference between the sharpness of the lines made by the burin and the spongy look of those bitten out by the aquafortis.

Dürer's abandonment of etching on copper would therefore merely amount to his having combined with it the use of the burin. Finding the dry point insufficient he subordinated it to the graver, of which he had long had experience, and to which he henceforth gave the principal rôle, contenting himself with merely etching the plates lightly first, and then carefully going over every line with the tool. In any case he very much lightened the labour of using this instrument, and invented a method which has been practised ever since. Compare, for example, the two very similar plates representing the Virgin as the Queen of Heaven, viz. 'The Virgin with the Crown of Stars,' of the year 1508* and 'The Virgin with the Crown and Sceptre,' of the year 1516†—both of them engravings which are placed side by side in nearly every collection—and it is easy to see at a glance the great contrast presented in the treatment of the two.‡ Examine them yet a little closer, and traces of the action of the aquafortis are distinctly visible in the blurred uncertain lines of the second engraving. And this is why experienced collectors and dealers, whenever it is a question of Dürer's later engravings, prefer pale grey impressions to the rich-toned darker ones.

* Bartsch, 31.

† *Idem*, 32.

‡ In the Print Room of the Berlin Museum there is an impression of the 'Virgin with the Crown of Stars' taken before the plate was finished, in which the outer circle of the halo does not quite surround the inner one at the top. The discovery of an analogous impression of a plate of Dürer's, executed before 1514, would be of great importance for settling the technical question.

It is worth noting, too, that Lucas van Leyden, the most skilful and gifted of Dürer's successors, was at first equally timid in the use of the etching needle, and employed the graver in conjunction with it. The earliest examples of this belong to the year 1520, and among them is the celebrated portrait of the Emperor Maximilian,* in which all the accessory parts are etched and afterwards here and there retouched with the burin, while the head is done with that instrument only. It was the very same year in which Dürer came to Antwerp, and although he did not become personally acquainted with Lucas till the following year, there is no doubt that the latter in his attempts sought to imitate Dürer's example. Like him, however, he made neither frequent nor exclusive use of etching. Indeed, the caution displayed in adopting the new and more picturesque method recalls what took place in the case of oil painting, which at first was practised side by side and in conjunction with tempera painting, before supplanting the latter and assuming an independent position of its own.

An entirely exceptional position among Dürer's engraved work is occupied by the small 'Crucifixion'† known as 'The Sword Hilt,' a little circular engraving not quite an inch and a half in diameter, representing Jesus on the Cross between St. John and the Virgin. Bartsch mistook one of the two excellent old copies that exist for the original, but recognised his error when classifying Dürer's engravings in the Imperial Library at Vienna, and, thanks to Passavant, the correction obtained full publicity.‡ As in the rare

* Bartsch, *Peintre Graveur*, vii. 432, No. 172. See also Nos. 29, 125, 150, and 159.

† *Idem*, 23, copy A.

‡ See Derschau's objections in Heller, p. 394, and also what Schorn says in the *Kunstblatt* (1830, No. 15, p. 56; 1840, No. 55, and No. 94, p. 396; 1847, No. 13, p. 51); and in the *Deutsches Kunstblatt* (1852, No. 17, p. 144).

examples of this engraving the Virgin appears on the left of the Saviour and St. John on the right, and as, moreover, the inscription INRI on the tablet is reversed, it is evident that this small plate was not intended to be printed from, but was a niello. Dürer no doubt only took a few impressions from the plate, which was of gold. He writes about it to Spalatin at the beginning of the year 1520:—"Herewith I send you as well two proofs of a small 'Crucifixion' engraved on gold, one of which is for your Reverence." * This agrees too with the account given by the Strasburg architect, Daniel Specklin (born 1536, died 1589), in a letter which is preserved with the print belonging to the Städel Institute at Frankfort, and in which he further states:—"Dürer engraved it on a plate of pure gold for the King and Emperor Maximilian I., and this plate was soldered on to the hilt of a sword. I have often seen the sword itself and the 'Crucifixion' in the Armoury at Innspruck, whence it was afterwards transferred to Vienna, to the Armoury there, where I again saw it in 1556." The sword is still at Vienna, in the Ambras collection, but Dürer's gold plate has disappeared long ago. The round hollow in the front part of the lozenge-shaped hilt in which it was inserted is the same size as the engraving.† On the other side of the hilt is a small enamelled silver plate, containing four coats-of-arms belonging probably to Nuremberg families.‡ The sword therefore would seem to have been

* *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, iii. p. 7; and *Dürers Briefe*, p. 44.

† It has been replaced by a Paschal Lamb in embossed silver, a modern work of no value.

‡ Two of them certainly do so. They are all enclosed in a quartered shield as follows:—1. A sable ram's head, turned to the left, with red horns, on a gold ground; 2. A lily, half silver, half red, on a ground of the same colours reversed—these are the arms of the Welsers of Nuremberg; 3. A lily, half silver, half sable, also on a ground of the same colours reversed; 4. Two silver lions with gold crowns crosswise on a red ground—the arms of the Ammon family. See *Die Ambraser Sammlung*, by the Baron von Sacken, Vienna, 1855, i. 269.

intended as a present to the Emperor, and since Maximilian died on January 12, 1519, Dürer's niello cannot be later than 1518. Its name of 'The Sword Hilt' consequently rests on a good tradition. This small, much-admired work of art was executed entirely with the burin, and besides being probably the only one he ever did on gold, it is the smallest of any of his engravings.*

The inexhaustible wealth of Dürer's imagination was even more strikingly shown in his woodcuts than in his engravings on copper. His masterpieces in the former branch of art coincide in point of time with the completion of the All Saints picture; one of them, indeed, the large 'Holy Trinity' of 1511,† is, so to say, a variant of the central group of that picture, and appears to have been done from the same studies. The care and feeling of refinement with which the woodcut has rendered the master's design surpass in technique anything accomplished before or since. Such is the softness and delicacy of the lines that there is nothing to betray the double use of the pen and the knife. The picture looks as though it came out of a mould, more in fact than a hand-drawing would, for the action of the printing press does away with those inequalities of the material which the pen and pencil can never overcome. The early grey impressions vie in the softness of their tones with the best of Dürer's copper engravings. And to these excellencies must be added the nobleness of the composition and the grandeur of the sentiment dis-

* A still smaller, 'St. Jerome in the Desert' (Bartsch, 62), only 29 millimètres in diameter, much admired by Sandrart as an unique specimen, in the collection of M. Spiring, a Swedish resident at the Hague, is also attributed to Dürer. It is a powerful etching on copper, designed in Dürer's style, and after engravings and woodcuts of the same subject by him. Another niello, rightly called 'The Judgment of Paris' (Bartsch, 65), is less deserving of attribution to the master.

† Bartsch, 122.

played in it. God the Father in the fulness of His compassion and majesty gazes on the martyred corpse of His Son as it lies across His knees, while the angels, holding the instruments of the passion, float meekly and sorrowfully around. At the same time Dürer was fully sensible that the body of the dead Christ was disfigured by the harsh outlines and contorted attitude, and he accordingly did a fresh drawing in 1515, which proves by the modifications introduced into the design, how perseveringly he criticised his work, and endeavoured to improve upon it. He gave a more simple and dignified pose to the body of our Lord, covered the legs with drapery, and rendered the expression of love in the Father's countenance more distinct. This improved pen-drawing, turned the same way as the engraving, is in the Ambrosiana at Milan. It was evidently done entirely for Dürer's own instruction and satisfaction.

About the same time there appeared a series of other woodcuts, which, in point of finish, more or less approach the 'Trinity.' One of them bears the date 1510, and represents a saint undraped kneeling before an altar, and about to do penance by scourging himself.* To the same year, too, belong two pieces which form pendants to one another, 'The Beheading of St. John the Baptist,' and 'Salome bringing in the Baptist's head on a charger;'† both gracefully treated cabinet pieces, but more like fashion-plates than pictures of sacred subjects. Some excellent cuts were done in 1511, as *e.g.* 'The Mass of St. Gregory,'‡ and 'St. Jerome in his cell;'§ the latter, a slight pen-sketch for which, of the same year, and done the reverse way of the woodcut, is in the Ambrosiana, was a worthy forerunner of the celebrated engraving on copper of 1514. Add to these the 'St. Christopher,' with the fluttering robes,‖ notwith-

* Bartsch, 119. † *Idem*, 125, 126. ‡ *Idem*, 123.
§ *Idem*, 114. ‖ *Idem*, 107.

standing that in this instance the monogram does not accompany the date,* and the 'Adoration of the Magi,'† which is larger than the cuts in the 'Life of the Virgin,' and rather smaller than those of the 'Great Passion.' Very likely the design for it was originally intended to form an additional subject in the latter. The composition greatly resembles that of the first drawing in the 'Green Passion' of 1504, only the scene is taken from the side instead of being seen in front. A weaker and less able hand is evidently responsible for the two 'Holy Families' of 1511, the one containing several saints and two little angels playing music,‡ and the other representing the Infant Jesus at play.§ The excessive length of the upper part of St. Joachim's body and his stiff attitude in this latter cut, are explained by the pen-drawing, which served as the design for the wood engraver, and which is now in the Albertina. In it the saint is represented standing, and when the position was changed into a sitting one, the figure was not sufficiently modified. The small cut called 'Cain and Abel,'‖ is rare but not otherwise remarkable; it simply represents one naked man killing another with an axe, and has nothing further to show that it was intended for a biblical subject.

The charming 'Coat-of-Arms of Michel Behaim'¶ must also have been executed towards 1511, for Behaim, who ordered it, died in that year. It is remarkable for the short inscription which Dürer traced on the wood block when sending it away, and which runs thus:—"I send you back the coat-of-arms, and beg you will leave it as it is. Nobody can improve it, for I have done it with care and skill. Whoever

* The large woodcut of 1525, representing the same saint (Bartsch, 105), is no more Dürer's than is the design for it preserved in the National Museum at Pesth. It is the work of another master, to which Dürer's monogram has been added.

† Bartsch, 3. ‡ *Idem*, 97.

§ *Idem*, 96. ‖ *Idem*, 1.

¶ *Idem*, 159.

THE VIRGIN AND CHILD, AND ST. ANNE.

(Facsimile of the Pen Drawing of 1512 in the Albertina at Vienna.)

To face p. 74, Vol. II.

sees it that understands such matters will bear witness to this. If you turn back the mantles over the helm, the torse will become invisible." These lines have led to the erroneous conclusion that Dürer executed the woodcut himself, whereas they indicate exactly the opposite, being evidently written before and not after the engraving of the block. This, no doubt, is what happened. When Dürer had drawn the arms upon the block, Behaim did not like the indented work of the mantle being down over the helm, and wanted it set back on the top; Dürer, however, objected to this on heraldic grounds, and sent the block back with the remark that an alteration of that kind would hide the torse or tuft which crowned the helmet. So serious a change could only be discussed with reference to the drawing; to have made it after the block was cut would have been attended with considerable difficulty. The choice of an engraver was evidently left to Behaim, the artist merely furnishing the design.

How much depended on the engraver may be learnt by comparing the 'Trinity' and the best woodcuts of 1510 with the inferior ones of the same year. So great a difference cannot possibly have existed in Dürer's original designs. Even supposing many of the details to have been simplified in transferring the sketch to the block, the spirit and sentiment of the original could not have been entirely lost. As an example of how Dürer collected his studies for sacred subjects, how he, so to say, picked them up in the streets of Nuremberg, take the subjoined facsimile of a group comprising the Virgin and Child, and St. Anne, a pen-drawing of 1512, now in the Albertina. The motive is similar to that of the woodcut of the 'Holy Family,' representing the Infant Jesus at play.* Here He is leaning on the arms of the grandmother, while the mother fastens His shirt

* See preceding page.

behind. Among the numerous sketches and studies of the Virgin which are to be found in various collections, we will only mention one, a small chalk cartoon representing her, half life-size and seen to the knees, in the costume of a townswoman, smiling and suckling the Child. This cartoon is also in the Albertina, and it bears the same date, 1512, added however in a strange hand, and evidently incorrect. The real date, which has probably been cut away above the monogram, must be 1519; it has been misread, as is often the case in Dürer's works. This idea is confirmed by the fact that in the copper engraving of the same subject,* done in 1519, some parts of this drawing have been made use of—notably the Child and the hands of the mother.

A word must here be said on Dürer's general conception of the Virgin. In all his representations of the mother of God, he has placed her directly and uniquely in connection with the Infant Jesus, and as deriving all her importance from Him. She is nearly always occupied in some way or other with Him. When surrounded by angels or saints, her attention is exclusively bestowed upon the Child. This subordination of the Virgin is founded no less on a particular theological tendency than on the abstract character of the German mind. All the Germanic peoples who were first converted to Christianity—the Goths, the Vandals, the Burgundians, and the Suevi—embraced the doctrine of Arius, according to which Christ was merely a superior being, created by God in His own likeness, and which was condemned at the Council of Nice. The Ostrogoths in Italy shed their blood in defence of this doctrine, and it was only by degrees, and after desperate struggles, that the Lombards and Visigoths were converted to the Roman dogma of the primordial divinity of Christ. Amongst

* Bartsch, 36.

the Latin races, on the contrary, there had always existed along with other remains of ancient civilisation an inclination to polytheism and its attendant idea of a variously peopled heaven. A widely extended worship of the saints offered to art inexhaustible resources, and the Virgin especially as the ideal type of a woman became more and more a favourite subject for artistic representation.

Yet Dürer's Virgin has none of the independence, none of the grace and material charm found in the Virgins of the Italian masters. Even the aureole is after a time laid aside. She is a simple Nuremberg mother, such as might be met with every day in that town. It is in an ordinary chamber, full of bustling gossips, that she first sees the light. She has the look of a worthy German matron, even down to the reticule and bunch of keys. Sometimes she sits spinning and reclining in the workshop of Joseph the carpenter, sometimes reading in the midst of a landscape surrounded by the gentle animal life of the North or by busy little angels. And these little angels are, like the Child Jesus, genuine playful children, without any premature wisdom or precocious sentimentality. Dürer's Virgin knows but one sentiment, that of maternal love. She suckles her son with a calm feeling of happiness, she gazes upon Him with admiration as He lies upon her lap, and she caresses Him and presses Him to her bosom without a thought as to whether it is becoming to her or whether she is being admired. And this love increases with the growth of her son; it is fed by the veneration with which He inspires her, and by her sorrows and sufferings on His account. Therefore she is not, like the Virgins of the Italian masters, endowed by Dürer with the eternal youth of the old divinities. As she draws near the end of life she becomes old and decrepit. It is a matron whom we see stretching out her arms over the dead body of her crucified Son, and fainting beneath the burden of her sorrows at the

foot of the cross. If to some this want of beauty and of grace should appear a subject for regret, let them not for that reason account it a reproach to Dürer and to German art.

It was in the course of the year 1511 that Dürer brought to an end one of the chief tasks of his life by completing and publishing in book-form the great series of wood engravings on which he had been so long engaged. First, he prepared a new edition of the 'Apocalypse' with the addition of a title-page. Then he finished the 'Life of the Virgin,' making it consist altogether, by the addition, in 1510, of the last two designs but one, and in 1511 of the title-page,* of twenty cuts. The 'Great Passion' was also augmented in 1511, not only by the title-page representing Christ mocked by the Jews,† but by the 'Last Supper,'‡ the 'Betrayal,'§ the 'Descent into Hell'‖—very like the scene in the Passion Plays—and the Resurrection¶ already mentioned. These brought the series up to twelve. Finally, during these two or three years he treated the same subjects again on a smaller scale. He went back to the 'Fall' and the 'Expulsion from Paradise,' added the appearances of our Lord after the Resurrection, and concluded with the 'Last

* The figure of the Virgin in this vignette afterwards served as a model for the spurious so-called 'Virgin at the Gate' (Bartsch, 45). This engraving is a clumsy compilation of fragments taken from various engravings and woodcuts of Dürer's, as has been thoroughly and convincingly proved by Mr. G. W. Reid (*Fine Arts Quarterly Review*, 1866, N.S. i. 401). The figure of God the Father at the top is borrowed from the woodcut, 'The Repose in Egypt' (Bartsch, 90); the groups of angels and the clouds from 'The Assumption' (Bartsch, 94); the buildings in the background on the right and the doors from 'Christ's Farewell to His Mother' (Bartsch, 92); the trunk of the tree and the fence on the left from the same source; and the large plants in the right foreground from the engraving called 'The Promenade' (Bartsch, 91). The forger was, I am convinced, Egidius Sadeler, who was summoned to Prague by Rudolph II., and who had the opportunity there, in the Emperor's collection, of acquiring Dürer's manner.

† Bartsch, 4.

‡ *Idem*, 5.

§ *Idem*, 7.

‖ *Idem*, 14.

¶ *Idem*, 15.

Judgment.' The title-page represents the 'Man of Sorrows' seated on a stone and overwhelmed with grief.* This series, consisting of thirty-seven cuts, is called the 'Little Passion,' in contradistinction to the three other series, which are printed on full-sized sheets, and were called by Dürer his "three large books." Two of the cuts, the 'Christ before Herod,'† and the 'Bearing the Cross,'‡ bear the date 1509; two others, the 'Expulsion from Paradise'§ and the 'St. Veronica between St. Peter and St. Paul,'‖ 1510. The year 1511 is given at the end as the date of publication.

However unpretending the 'Little Passion' may appear in comparison with the "great books"—more, in fact, like illustrations subordinate to the text, it is no way inferior in point of genius and originality. Former motives are no doubt often repeated, and the execution of the cuts is very unequal; but the figures, which are few in number and very simply drawn, are so clearly arranged within a small compass, that both action and expression are rendered with singular clearness. The aphoristic character of the design recalls the simple narrative style of a legend or popular tale, in which pithily turned phrases are more expressive than the most elaborate descriptions. Moreover, each design has been thought out anew and very carefully reconsidered, with the view of making the work a small book of devotion. An example of this is furnished by a variant ¶ of the cut of 'Christ on the Mount of Olives.' The Saviour lies prone, with His face to the ground and His arms outspread, in the attitude of one

* The original of this title-page has become very rare, whilst the other blocks of the series have been preserved down to the present time. See B. Hausmann, *A. Dürers Kupferstiche*, &c., 63; J. A. Mesmer, *Ueber A. Dürers Titelblatt zur Kleinen Passion*, in the *Mitth. der K. K. Centralcomm. in Wien*, vi. 217.

† Bartsch, 32.

‡ *Idem*, 37.

§ *Idem*, 18. Hausmann mentions two different states of this cut in the *Archiv für zeichn. Künste*, i. 54-56.

‖ *Idem*, 38.

¶ *Idem*, 54.

crucified; while from the clouds an angel is presenting Him with a cross. The size of this very rare little plate leaves no doubt as to its having been originally intended for the 'Little Passion.' Dürer several times attempted to express in this somewhat extravagant manner Christ's despairing resignation to His fate. There is a small sketch for this cut in the Berlin Museum,* and the Städel Institute at Frankfort possesses an oblong pen-sketch, dated 1521, in which the same powerful treatment of the subject is repeated. Dürer, however, had the good sense to put aside this design, and, though the block was already engraved, to substitute for it the masterly and more sober composition which we now see in the 'Little Passion.'†

As soon as the woodcuts for the three new series were ready, Dürer proceeded to publish them in the form of books. With this view he had hastened their completion, and had also thought of providing an appropriate poetical text. The improvement in his circumstances which had taken place from the time of his second visit to Venice, enabled him to meet the not inconsiderable cost of publication. Once, however, the necessary amount was forthcoming, it became a comparatively less expensive matter to publish all the works at once. And with this object, no doubt, Dürer procured himself a printing-press, and set it up in his new house near the Thiergärtner Gate. His godfather, Koburger, probably gave him some assistance, and apprentices, expressly engaged, carried out the work under his own supervision. He was, besides, in communication with other printers, as is proved by the intimate letter addressed by him on October 20, 1507, to Amerbach, Holbein's friend, at Basle.‡

* No. 322 in the Posonyi Catalogue. This sketch is the same way as the woodcut and bears the old inscription: "*Albert duer hant selue*"—"By Albert Dürer's own hand."

† Bartsch, 26.

‡ This letter is in the Library at Basle. See the *Zeitschrift für bild. Kunst.*, 1868, iii. 11, and *Dürer's Briefe*, p. 23.

All the four books printed by Dürer in 1511 have the same imprint at the end: "*Impressum Nurnbergæ per Albertum Durer pictorem.*" The 'Apocalypse' appeared with the original Latin text printed in Gothic characters, as in the edition of 1498. For the illustrations of the 'Life of the Virgin' and the two 'Passions,' a friend of Dürer's, the Benedictine priest Chelidonius, who called himself Musophilus, wrote an explanatory text in Latin distichs, which was placed opposite each cut on the back of the preceding one. It was printed in Renaissance characters, like those already adopted by the Italian presses.

In those days the printer was also generally the publisher; and such was the case with Dürer. His illustrated books found a ready sale, far and near. That the number of copies issued must have been considerable is shown by the existence even now of many single cuts with the text on the back. It is very seldom, however, that complete copies of the books are to be found, the collectors of the last century having been in the habit of tearing out single leaves. Only a few libraries possess the volumes intact, and it is from these alone that a correct idea of Dürer's publications can be formed. Especially prized are the rare copies containing all the three great books on whole sheets with wide margins, and in their original and chronological order—the 'Life of the Virgin' first, then the 'Great Passion,' and lastly the 'Apocalypse.' The one now before me was originally the property of a Venetian painter named Giovanni, who has made an entry on the title-page of the birth of twin daughters on the 1st of April, 1514, three years, that is, after the date of publication.* At the end of each of the four

* This copy is now in the Berlin Museum. The old inscription, written in a firm hand, runs thus: "Chum al nome de l' onipotente idio et de la glorioxa uerzene maria e de tuti i santi in bona uentura del 1514 adi primo april a hor 2 de zorno nasete iulia e paula fiole a mi zuane depentor."

books Dürer repeats the formula containing terrible threats against all copyists and imitators, and a reference to the privilege accorded him by the Emperor. The 'Little Passion' includes, besides a dedication to Wilibald Pirkheimer by Chelidonius, some verses in praise of the latter by Pirkheimer and Johannes Cochlæus.

Not content, however, with being printer, publisher, and bookseller, Dürer also had an idea of being a poet, in order to supplement his woodcuts with lines of his own composition. He himself gives us a charmingly naive account of how he made his first essay in rhyme in 1509.* "I composed," he says, "two lines, each with exactly the same number of syllables, and thought I had succeeded very well. Here they are:

"'Thou Mirror of all Angels and Saviour of mankind,
May I in Thy great death for my sins a ransom find.'†

But when Wilibald Pirkheimer read them he laughed at me, and said that no line should have more than eight syllables." He then goes on to relate how he resolutely set to work to compose eighteen lines of this sort, on the eight gifts of wisdom, which he prays God to bestow on him. But these pleased Pirkheimer no better. So accordingly Dürer asked their common friend, the learned and well-known Secretary of the Council, Lazarus Spengler, to write him some verses on the same subject. Spengler consented, but sent him at the same time, through Pirkheimer, a rhyming skit, which began thus:

"Though we with many a thing have met,
Which all our notions quite upset
And left us lost in wonderment,
Yet still myself I can't prevent
From telling you a little tale;
To make you laugh it cannot fail.

* See *Dürers Briefe*, Introduction, xiv.

† In this and other similar instances the German rhymes have been turned into closely corresponding English ones.—ED.

And this is how it came about.
You know a certain man, no doubt;
He has a beard and curly hair,
Was born a painter, and he ne'er
Has anything but painter been.
Yet now because—although I ween
His skill in either is but slight—
He able is to read and write,
He's tried to ply the writer's trade,
And even poetry essayed.
But this don't suit him, not at all,
And that to him may perhaps befall
Which to a cobbler once did happen," &c.

Then follows the laughable story of Apelles and the cobbler who would not stick to his last, and Spengler ends with the moral:

"Thus to this man I now declare,
As is his skill in painting rare,
So let him to his painting hold,
And none will laugh at him or scold."

Dürer forthwith replies in the same strain:

"Just at this time, 'tis known full well,
In Nuremberg a scribe doth dwell,
Deemed by our lords a man of might,
Because a letter he can write."

This same scribe has made him (Dürer) the subject of a carnival farce:

"He thought I'd always painter be,
But I'm resolved, and tell him so
Quite plainly, something new to know
Which now I know not. For this can
Reproach me surely no wise man."

And he goes on to compare Spengler to a notary who made himself ridiculous by having only one formula for all the deeds he drew up. He further adds, superciliously, that not only will he write, but he will practise medicine as well, and he gives Spengler some satirical advice out of the

'Painters' Receipts.' The lines wind up with a somewhat testy allusion to Spengler's description:

"So rhymes I'll make, although the scribe
May still continue to laugh and gibe!
Says the hairy and bearded painter
To the sharp satirical scrivener."

And as a matter of fact he did continue writing verses in 1510. The humorous lines addressed to the painter Conrad Merkel, at Ulm, were not printed. In an apothegm "concerning good and bad friends" he develops the favourite theme on which he was particularly fond of dwelling. It really sounds quite touching when he says at the end of his poetical attempts: "I then composed two lines for a special reason; I was much grieved about one to whom I was devoted and who was under great obligations to me:

"That friend with honour you may leave,
Who always gives you cause to grieve."

After these preparatory exercises, Dürer ventured on publishing his rhymes. He accompanied some of his woodcuts with verses, or rather he illustrated his poetical effusions with a title-page, for in these fly-sheets the lines printed in double columns seem to be the principal thing, the monogram being placed at the end, so that there may be no doubt as to the authorship. Pirkheimer, it is true, gave him some help in this.* We possess three such fly-sheets, all of the year 1510. This didactic tendency, which characterises the other efforts of the same year, especially some apothegms,

* I gather this from the fact that Hans Imhoff published several modified versions of the first two apothegms mentioned below in Wilibald Pirkheimer's little treatise on Virtue (Nuremberg, 1606, p. 61). They are evidently rough copies found among the papers left by Pirkheimer, and probably in his handwriting. Herr Lempertz, sen., of Cologne, has an autograph of Dürer's which contains a fragment of the second apothegm, beginning "Spar dein pesrung nit piss auff morn," &c., "Leave not repentance till to-morrow."

is still more clearly shown in the printed verses, which are naturally tinged with the theological colouring of the day. One of these fly-leaves is called, after the woodcut between the verse heading and the text, 'The Schoolmaster.'* The cut represents, indeed, a schoolmaster, with a rod in his right hand, teaching five boys seated in front of him. There is a sketch for the single figure in the Uffizii, at Florence. The accompanying poetry, of sixty-six lines, treats of worldly wisdom and shrewdness in one's dealings with men. The subject of another fly-leaf is death, and the need of constant preparation for it. Here the woodcut is a skeleton wrapped in a sheet, and holding an hour-glass in front of a martial-looking lansquenet.† Among the accompanying seventy-eight lines are the following:

"But he who would good works lay by
Until he's on the point to die,
And puts in masses all his trust,
And hopes thereby be saved he must,
With tinkling bells alone he 's paid,
His memory soon away shall fade.
'Twill also unremembered be
How long a time remained has he
Or in purgatory, or in hell,
Suffering pains no tongue can tell."

The third sheet represents Christ on the Cross between the Virgin and St. John.‡ At the top is the following distich:

"These are the seven hours of woe,
When Christ on earth hath suffered so."

A strophe of ten verses is devoted to each of the seven canonical hours, or hours of prayer, and the different scenes of the Passion are described in simple and touching words. It is interesting to hear Dürer relate a history he has so often

* Bartsch, 133; Heller, 1900. † Bartsch, 132; Heller, 1901.
‡ Bartsch, 55; Heller, 1632.

and so powerfully depicted with his pencil. He ends with the following prayer:

"Almighty Lord and God! with great
Devotion do we contemplate
The cruel pains by which Thy Son
Jesus for us hath sorely won
Salvation. Grant, O Lord, I pray,
That for my sins I truly may
Repentance feel, and better be;
With all my heart I ask it Thee.
Lord, Thou hast won a victory rare,
Let me Thy crowning triumph share."

These lines are no worse than many others of the period, and we must not make the painter responsible for the poverty which characterised German poetry at that time. Dürer, however, so far as we know, gave up making verses after the year 1510. He would have been no true German if he had completely resisted the temptation. But, like many another, he passed immediately from making bad verses to composing good prose. It is a curious coincidence that the only known poetical attempts of Raphael were made at the same time as Dürer's. The five sonnets by him that have come down to us date from the years 1509–10. They, however, are full of nothing but the ardent longings and the complete happiness of love.* Like Dürer, Raphael soon abandoned poetry, and devoted himself instead to archæological researches and other analogous pursuits. He was not destined, however, like Dürer, to turn his theoretical studies to literary account. The "divine" Raphael, for "divine" was the title given to the fortunate youth, was spared the prose time of life. As to Dürer, there was nothing divine about him; he was thoroughly and completely human.

Two worlds, indeed, distinct the one from the other,

* The best edition of them is to be found in Hermann Grimm's *Das Leben Raphaels*, 1872, Berlin, pp. 362–382.

are brought together in the persons of the first representatives of German and Italian painting. The historical points of contact between them are therefore all the more important for us, and it would seem to be better worth while to search for them and follow them out, than to indulge in interminable theoretical comparisons, which must always be influenced by the spirit and taste of our own time. The Italians, as we have already seen, very soon felt the irresistible truth of Dürer's creations, notwithstanding all that was foreign to them in the thoughts, the forms, the landscapes, and the costumes. As they had already copied and made use of his backgrounds, so now they did the same with his biblical compositions and figures. Putting aside Giovanni Bellini, Vasari reckons Andrea del Sarto, and his pupil Jacopo Pontormo, among Dürer's imitators. Andrea has, in fact, in his *grisaille* frescoes on the walls of the cloisters of the Scalzi at Florence, representing the life of St. John, copied whole figures from Dürer's series. For instance, in the 'Preaching of St. John,' the Pharisee wrapped in the long cloak, on the right, is taken from the 'Ecce Homo' of the Passion in Copper;* and the woman seated with an infant, from the woodcut of the 'Lying-in Chamber' in the 'Life of the Virgin.'†

Raphael went beyond every one else in his admiration for Dürer. We can well believe Lodovico Dolce‡ when he says that drawings, engravings, and woodcuts of Dürer's hung in the Urbino painter's studio, and were loudly praised by him. He must have got to know them through his own engraver, Marc Antonio Raimondi, whom he had employed since the year 1510. Raimondi had already, as early as 1506, formed his style, by reproducing on copper

* Bartsch, 10.

† *Idem*, 80.

‡ 'Aretino, or Dialogue on Painting,' p. 42. This dialogue has been published in German by R. von Eitelberger, Vienna, 1871.

almost the whole of the 'Life of the Virgin;' and he now, under Raphael's own eyes, did the same with the 'Little Passion;' not to mention a number of other copies from Dürer, which, with more or less reason, are attributed to him. Nor did Raphael himself escape the influence of Dürer's genius. In his 'Bearing the Cross,' of 1516—the famous 'Spasimo di Sicilia' of the Madrid Museum—he did not hesitate to borrow without reserve the whole of his composition, almost figure for figure, from the corresponding woodcut in the 'Great Passion,' especially the attitude of the Christ sinking forward, and supporting Himself on one arm.* That Raphael, without giving up his own strongly-marked individuality, had been inspired by this woodcut in one of his most successful creations, is proved by comparing it with Paolo Toschi's admirable engraving of the 'Spasimo.' We have, besides, other proofs of the estimation in which Dürer's engravings and woodcuts were held by Raphael and his school, and the use that was made of them. A careful study of the fresco of 'Jacob and Rachel at the Well,' in the sixth compartment of the Loggia in the Vatican, clearly shows that the whole of the rich landscape background is taken from Dürer's copper engravings; the rock, with the hermit's cell on the right, from the 'St. Jerome in the Desert;'† the group of trees, in front of which two women are standing, from the middle of the 'Great Hercules;'‡ and the castle at the top of the mountain at the side is a free rendering of the one in the 'Amymone.'§ The splendid oblong engraving of Agostino Veneziano, called 'Lo Stregozzo,' furnishes a similar example.¶ This fantastic piece is ascribed to Raphael. Whether it should not rather be attributed to Giulio Romano, I will not stop to inquire. What, however,

* See Vol. I. p. 325. † Bartsch, 61. ‡ *Idem*, 73.
§ *Idem*, 71. ¶ *Idem*, P.G. xiv. No. 426.

is worth noting is, that the principal figure of the witch sitting on the skeleton of the monster, is a reminiscence of Dürer's small engraving of 'The Witch.' * Giulio Romano has, it is true, stood sponsor to all the works just mentioned, as well as to most of Raphael's later ones.

How absurd it is, then, under these circumstances, to put into Raphael's mouth such words as: "If Dürer had been acquainted with the antique, he would have surpassed us all." There is nothing to justify such a saying.† It is merely Vasari's own opinion, and writers who desired to be more Raphaelesque than Raphael have implicitly believed and repeated it. The dictum, moreover, is quite in accordance with the taste of the later cinquecento mannerists. Such views were common at that time, and the fawning arrogance betrayed in the saying may well be attributed to Giorgio Vasari. But a Raphael must have known well that there are various ways of serving art, and that the originality of a genius different from his own should be considered not as a defect, but rather as an essential characteristic. It was nothing but the unqualified admiration which Raphael conceived for Dürer, consequent on his becoming acquainted with the numerous specimens of the latter's art, rendered

* Bartsch, 67.

† Vasari, ed. Le Monnier, x. 264:—"E nel vero, se quest' uomo si raro, si diligente, si universale avesse avuto per patria la Toscana, come egli ebbe la Fiandra, ed avesse potuto studiare le cose di Roma, come abbiam fatto noi, sarebbesi stato il miglior pittore de' paesi nostri, si come fu il più raro e il più celebrato che abbiano mai avuto i Fiamminghi." With Vasari Fiamminghi is synonymous with Germans. Compare also the letter written by Lambert Lombard to Vasari from Liege on April 17, 1565, in which he says of Dürer:—"Chi dubita, se quel mirabile ingegno, dotato di si divina mano e di tante altre facultà, si fosse messo a considerare le reliquie delle antiquità, quelle stupende figure di Montecavallo, quel perfetto Laocoonte, &c. &c. &c., quali belli ornamenti saranno restati nelli suoi libri della proportione dell' huomo!" And then comes the flattering insinuation that Vasari will pay heed to this observation (Gaye, *Carteggio*, iii. 177). Lodovico Dolce expresses a similar opinion.

accessible by means of commerce, that gave him the desire to become known in his turn to the Nuremberg master, and to enter into personal relations with him. In the year 1515 he sent him several of his drawings. One of them, found among Dürer's effects, is still preserved in the Albertina. It represents the naked figure of a fine-looking man, sketched from two different points of view, in red chalk. Passavant may be correct in asserting that the view of the figure turned to the right, served as a study for the captain on the left, behind the Pope, in the 'Battle of the Saracens.'

Dürer wrote on the side of the sketch: "1515. Raphael of Urbino, who is so highly esteemed by the Pope, drew these naked figures, and sent them to Albert Dürer, at Nuremberg, to show him his method of work."* The writing is in Dürer's large upright hand, of the year 1520, when Raphael was already dead. There can therefore be no doubt that the date 1515 refers to the time when the drawing was sent.

"To show him his method of work," is an expression so exactly in the spirit of the Renaissance. Vasari also knew what had taken place, and how precious these drawings of Raphael were to Dürer. He further informs us in several places that Dürer returned the attention, by sending Raphael his prints and a life-size portrait of himself.† This

* "Raffahell de Vrbin, der so hoch peim pobst geacht ist gewest, (hat) der hat dyse nackette bild gemacht vnd hat sy dem Albrecht Dürer gen Nornberg geschickt, im sein hand zw weisen."

† Vasari, ed. Le Monnier, Life of Raphael, viii. 35: but the portrait is described with more detail in the Life of Giulio Romano, x. 111. According to the former account, it was Dürer who took the initiative in sending specimens of his work. A third version of the story, in the Life of Marcantonio, ix. 274, makes Raphael send some copper engravings of Marcantonio's to Dürer, who praises the latter greatly for them. "E all incontro mandò a Raffaello, oltre molte altre carte, il suo ritratto, che fu tenuto bello affatto." According to this again, Raphael was the first to send. Vasari evidently attaches no importance to the question of priority. He is quite

portrait was, according to Vasari's tolerably exact description, "a small painted canvas," a "*gemaltes Tüchlein*," as Dürer himself calls it. It was done upon a very fine-stretched, unprepared canvas, in water-colours or thin distemper, with the lights left blank, so that the canvas can be seen on both sides. We meet with this same technique, often employed by Dürer, in spite of its being so little durable, in three studies of his which formerly belonged to the Abbé de Marolles, and are now in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris. Two of them represent—one three-quarters to the right and the other to the left—the life-size head of a boy of about fifteen; the third is the bust, two-thirds life-size, of a woman of forty, looking down. All these studies are on a black ground, and are much faded. We shall meet with better-preserved examples in the heads of the Apostles Philip and James, of 1516, in the Uffizii, at Florence. A peculiar specimen of it is to be found in the life-size boy's head, with a long beard, apparently tied on, dated 1527, in the collection of drawings at the Louvre.* Dürer's certainty of execution in this method

uncertain about it, and, indeed, about the date altogether, and tells the story exactly as it suits him. The statement as to Dürer's praise of Marcantonio is more than questionable, since Dürer must have looked upon the Italian as a plagiarist. Even in 1520, Dürer could have possessed but few of Marcantonio's engravings, seeing that at Antwerp, on October 1 of that year, he gave to Tommaso Vincidore, of Bologna, an impression of each of his works, to exchange for him in Rome for "Raphael's works," that is to say, Marcantonio's engravings. (*Dürers Briefe*, 96, l. 18, and p. 219. See also *infra*, p. 182.) That Dürer should have taken the initiative in this interchange of presents is wholly improbable. What had he seen of Raphael's in Nuremberg, up to 1515, to prompt him to such an act of profound homage? And on the other hand, had it been so, could Raphael have responded with merely a few studies? It was far more natural that he, the younger, should have taken the first step, and surprised Dürer with some specimens of his drawing. Dürer would then have felt himself highly honoured, and bound to make a more handsome present in return.

* F. Reiset, *Catalogue* I., No. 499. Camerarius describes, as an eye-witness, Dürer painting a similar head of a man:—"Nos viri barbatam ima-

excited Raphael's profound admiration.* When he died, on the 6th of April, 1520—the very day on which Dürer followed him eight years later—he bequeathed the portrait sent him by the German master to his favourite pupil, Giulio Romano, who also held it in great esteem, and showed it "as a marvel" to Vasari, when the latter afterwards visited him at Mantua. Joachim von Sandrart also saw it there in the Duke's collection.† Since then it has not been heard of, and probably no longer exists. Thus Dürer "showed his hand" to Raphael, at the same time that he took the opportunity of letting the Italian master know what he himself was like. These two exceptional men, at any rate, gained a sight of one another through their productions.

This painting by the artist of his own portrait played a more important part in Dürer's work than in that of any other master of the Renaissance. The tendency to self-investigation and the desire of fathoming his own nature, which were always alive in Dürer, led him also to carefully observe his outward appearance. He was fond of making his own countenance the object of his study. Besides the still existing busts of 1484, 1493, and 1498, which have been already mentioned, there is the famous portrait in the Pinakothek at Munich. It is chiefly from this picture that posterity has formed its idea of what Dürer was like. Who does not know him as he is here represented—a magnificent man, bareheaded, with rich brown hair falling in long, well-curled locks over his fur hood, and wide-opened eyes which gaze at us intently with a half-questioning, half-dreamy

ginem, ita ut diximus, in linteo statim ipso penicillo nullis ante dispostis, ut assolet, delineationibus ab eo expressam quasi attoniti spectavimus. Pili sunt barbae ferme cubitales, ita exquisite et solerter ducti, ita ubique discrimine et modo simili, ut quo quis melius artem intelligeret, hoc magis cum admiratur, tum incredibile duceret in illis effingendis nulla alia ope manum adjutam fuisse."

* Vasari, viii. 35: "La quale cosa parve maravigliosa a Raffaello."

† *Teutsche Academie*, 97.

PORTRAIT OF DÜRER, BY HIMSELF.

(From the Picture in the Pinakothek at Munich.)

To face p. 92, Vol. II.

look! The hair, parted in the middle, makes the face appear strikingly narrow, and the long bare neck very powerful; while the proportions being rather larger than life-size, increase the earnest expression of the noble and regular features. The eyes have a greenish hue, and the full lips, in accordance with Dürer's taste, and, as it would seem, with that of the time, are somewhat drawn together and protruding. The hand, so famous for its beauty, is holding the two edges of the fur coat together over the chest, in a peculiarly ungraceful fashion. The beard is short, and not very thick as yet. As to the execution, it is exceedingly careful and delicate, especially in the hair and fur, without being in the least finikin. In the flesh the grey shadows are very softly fused, and the white lights broadly laid on. Under the thin colouring may be seen, here and there, the fine pencil-like cross-hatching of the original sketch.*

The picture is now in very bad condition. There is but little left of its original bright, clear colouring. Brown varnish and coats of paint have given it the appearance of a Flemish picture of a late epoch, in which an attempt has been made to get the effect of chiaroscuro.† Through the dark layers of paint in the background can be seen, on the right, a scalloped tablet, which was formerly light in colour, and contained an inscription.‡ The actual inscription, as well as the monogram and the date, 1500, are not genuine, and are painted with gold-dust.§ The year 1500, which also figures,

* Amongst the numerous reproductions of this portrait the copper engraving by François Forster is the best, and certainly the most faithful, though the outlines are hard and wanting in delicacy. Strixner's is very unsatisfactory. Our woodcut is from the original, with the assistance of these two reproductions.

† At the Jubilee of 1871, it underwent the further injury of "regeneration," that is to say, of being submitted to the Pettenkofen process.

‡ In Forster's engraving this tablet is not very clearly indicated.

§ The inscription runs thus:—"Albertus Durerus Noricus ipsum me propriis hic effingebam coloribus ætatis anno xxviii." It corresponds

though in rather a suspicious manner, upon two other pictures of Dürer's at Munich, is a most unlikely date for this portrait. It is enough to compare it with all the other portraits, and with Dürer's paintings generally, and especially with the much more youthful portrait of himself of 1498 at Madrid, to prove this convincingly. In my opinion the picture cannot have been produced before 1503, nor after 1508: probability points to 1504 or 1505. For a very long time, and up to the end of the last century, the original was in the Town Hall at Nuremberg, in the so-called Silver Chamber (*Silberstube*), and was there seen in 1577 by Carel van Mander, who was particularly struck by the artistic handling of the long flowing hair. Van Mander, it is true, mentions the year 1500 as that in which it was painted: but the way in which he does so tells rather against than in favour of that date.* "It was painted, I think," he says, "in the year 1500, when Dürer was about thirty years old." Though he had actually had the picture in his hand, he does not appear to have read the date 1500 upon it, but only to have inferred it from an incidental estimate of Dürer's age. Very possibly, therefore, Van Mander's statement, far from being any testimony to the accuracy of the date on the picture, is rather the source whence that date was subsequently derived.†

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with another in one of Dürer's manuscripts in the British Museum (iii. 25):—"IMAGO . ALBERTI . DVRER . ALEMANI . QVAM . IPSE . SVISMET . EFFINXIT . MANIBVS." (A. v. Zahn, *Jahrbücher für Künstw.* i. 21.) The inscription on the picture may consequently be an inaccurate repetition of the earlier one. As to the scalloped and jagged shape of the tablet, which though painted over is still visible, it may quite possibly be due to Dürer. Compare it, for instance, with the queer cartouches scalloped in the same way, and rolled up at the ends, upon Figs. 16 and 17 in Dürer's *Unterweisung der Messung* of 1525.

* Van Mander, *Het Schilderboeck*, ed. 1618, fol. 132: "Als my wel vorstaet gesien, en in myn handen gehadt te hebben, doe ik daer was Ao. 1577. Het selfde was gedaen (als ick meen) Ao. 1500 doe hy ontrent 30. jaer oudt was."

† Heller, 209, No. 7. The follow-

The exalted self-consciousness which is apparent in all these portraits, the delight which he took in his own splendid person, might be misinterpreted in any one else but Dürer. In him it is but the mere child-like simplicity of the age. His ingenuous satisfaction with himself is far enough removed, indeed, from the ostentatious conceit of contemporary humanists, and still farther from the false modesty and bad taste to which photography has accustomed us. The sense of individuality which came into existence with the Renaissance and the Reformation forcibly asserted itself in Dürer; and joined to this exalted self-consciousness was a longing for personal distinction, and a struggling and striving after future glory. Both these distinctly modern tendencies increased in Dürer as his genius developed itself, and were finally consummated in the monogram with which his principal pictures are signed. He had at an early period placed two initials side by side, often in very small letters, on many of his drawings, as is proved by examples of from 1485 to 1496. As a rule, however, he did not sign his works at all at that time. He subsequently placed his monogram on many early studies which bore no signature, sometimes adding a complete inscription referring to their origin. This revision, so to say, of the contents of his portfolios, seems to have been undertaken more especially about the year 1514.

ing is the story of the picture's wanderings, as told at Nuremberg. It was lent by the magistrates, after they had taken the precaution of placing a seal and strings on the back of the panel, to the painter and engraver Kügner, to copy. He, however, carefully sawed the panel in half, and glued to the authenticated back his miserable copy, which now hangs in the Town-hall. The original he sold, and it eventually came into the possession of King Ludwig I., before Nuremberg belonged to Bavaria. There are, of course, other copies of this famous picture. One of them lately fell, with the rest of the Suermondt Collection, to the share of the Berlin Museum, at the official value of 50 florins. Whether it belongs to the end of the sixteenth century, and is by Hans Hoffmann, or whether, as is asserted in Nuremberg, it is a work of the nineteenth century and by a certain Rorich, sen., is a question of no importance.

It was not till about 1496 or 1497 that he first adopted the well-known monogram of a D enclosed in a larger Gothic A, which he afterwards rarely forgot to affix even to the most insignificant works. From the year 1503, unless prevented by want of space or some other reason, he supplemented the monogram with the date placed immediately above. Pirkheimer had advised him to sign his works, like Apelles, with his name.* Finally, to the anxiety to secure his rights as an author was joined the desire of transmitting his own portrait to posterity, and he accordingly furnished those four pictures of his, which were the most densely crowded with figures, not only with monogram and date, but also with a conspicuous inscription and his own portrait. In the 'Feast of the Rosary' and the 'Martyrdom of the Ten Thousand' he appears in company with his beloved friend Pirkheimer. In the 'Assumption' and the All Saints pictures, he stands alone, and the whole of his figure is visible. Other painters of the Renaissance period, indeed, were fond of introducing themselves into their compositions, generally, however, by lending their own features to some of the subordinate figures. But Dürer always places himself as an unconcerned spectator, apart from the scene, and, if possible, in a prominent position, dressed in his Sunday best, and holding in his hand the inscribed tablet, on which he never omitted to style himself a German or a Nuremberger, so that his fatherland as well as his friend might have their share in his fame.

It is in the All Saints picture that we have the most faithful representation of the full-length figure of Dürer in the flower of his strength. A very good engraving of it, one-third the size of the original, forms the frontispiece of

* Scheurl's Panegyric on Cranach, 1508, translated into German by Ph. Schuchardt, *L. Cranach*, i. 84.

the present volume. It is interesting to compare with this portrait the description given by Joachim Camerarius, the first rector of the Gymnasium founded at Nuremberg by Melanchthon, of Dürer's person, in the preface to his Latin edition of the Treatise on Proportion (*Proportionslehre*) of 1532: "Nature had given him a body remarkable for its form and proportions, and proper to the beautiful spirit which it contained. His head was full of intelligence, his eyes brilliant, the nose finely formed—what the Greeks would have called τετράγωνον—the neck somewhat long, the chest broad, the body slender, the thighs sinewy, the legs strong. But it was impossible to see anything more lovely than his hand; while such was the sweetness and charm of his voice, that his hearers only grieved when he ceased to speak."* This remarkable exterior corresponded with the nobleness of his soul: "He was impelled with intense earnestness of mind to purity of morals, and to such a mode of life as justly earned for him the reputation of the best of men. He did not, however, affect either a gloomy severity or a repulsive gravity; on the contrary, throughout his whole life he encouraged, and even in his old age showed his approval of, everything which he thought could produce pleasure and delight, without being incompatible with what was good and honourable, as is proved by the works which he has left behind him upon gymnastics and music. But, before all, nature had created him for painting; wherefore he devoted all his energies to the study of it, and laboured unremittingly to become acquainted with the works and method of celebrated

* "Dederat huic natura corpus compositione et statura conspicuum, aptumque animo specioso, quem contineret . . . erat caput argutum, oculi micantes, nasus honestus et quem Greci τετράγωνον vocant, procerius culum collum, pectus amplum, castigatus venter, femora nervosa, crura stabilia. Sed digitis nihil dixisses vidisse elegantius. Sermonis autem tanta suavitas atque is lepor, ut nihil esset audientibus magis contrarium quam finis."

masters everywhere, and to imitate all that he found excellent in them."*

It was by this means, continues Camerarius, that Dürer attained to such a high degree of favour with the Emperor Maximilian and with Charles V. "But when his hand had, so to speak, reached its prime, you could trace all the more distinctly in his works his lofty spirit so devoted to virtue; for whatever he did was full of grandeur and of laudable purpose."† Referring to those artists who seek to please by wanton indecorous pictures, Camerarius adds: "In this respect we justly admire Albert as the faithful guardian of chastity and purity of morals, and as bearing witness through his magnificent pictures that he was fully conscious of his power, though even in his smaller works there is nothing to be despised. In these not a line can be found which was drawn either clumsily or at random, not a point which was superfluous.‡ . . . But what shall I say of the firmness and accuracy of his hand? You could have sworn that what he drew without other means than the brush, the pencil, or the pen, to the immense astonishment

* "Ferebatur autem magno quodam ardore animi ad omnem honestatem morum et vitae complectendam, quam ita praestitit, ut vir optimus merito haberetur. Non tamen erat aut tristi severitate aut gravitate odiosa, quin etiam quicquid ad suavitatem, hilaritatemque facere putatur, neque ab honesto nec recto alienum, et ipse per aetatem non neglexerat, et probabat etiam senex, cuiusmodi sunt gymnastices et musices reliquiae. Sed prae caeteris eum ad picturam natura finxerat, quare et illius studium totis viribus complexus et ubique gentium laudatorum pictorum opera, et rationem illorum cognoscendi, et imitandi quae probasset, cura tenebatur."

† "Sed ubi jam habuit illius manus, ut ita loquar, maturitatem, tum maxime de operibus intelligeres ingenium sublime et virtutis amans, talia enim omnia faciebat grandia et laudabilis argumenti."

‡ "Hoc igitur loco optimo jure admirabimus Albertum sanctimoniae et pudoris diligentissimum custodem, et granditate picturarum proferentem, se conscium nimirum sibi virium suarum, sic tamen ut ex minoribus quoque operibus ipsius sperni nihil debeat. In quibus nullam lineam invenias ductam temere aut perverse, nullum supervacuum punctum."

of the beholders, had been drawn with rule and compass. What shall I say of the sympathy which reigned between his hand and his ideas, so that often on the spur of the moment he dashed off, or, as painters say, placed upon paper, with pen or pencil the forms of all possible things?* . . . The statement will, I foresee, appear incredible to my readers, that he would sometimes draw separately, not only different parts of a composition, but also of a human body, so as to correspond with such exactness that it was impossible for anything to fit better. So furnished was the mind of this matchless artist with all knowledge, and with the comprehension of the truth and harmony of the parts in themselves, that it directed and governed the hand, which obeyed it with confidence, and without the need of any extraneous help!† . . . His skill in handling the brush was equally great, for with it, without any previous sketch, he would draw the most delicate things upon canvas or panel, so that not only would there be nothing to find fault with, but everything would meet with the highest praise. This it was that chiefly excited the admiration of the most celebrated painters, who knew from their own experience what the difficulties were.‡

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* "Quid ego de manus constantia et certitudine loquar? Jurares regula normave aut circino perscripta, quae nullo adjumento, vel penicillo vel saepe calamo aut penna deducebat ingenti cum admiratione spectantium. Quid memorem, qua dextrae cum animi conceptibus congruentia saepe in chartas statim calamo aut penna figuras quarumcunque conjecerit, sive ut ipsi loquuntur, collocarit?"

† "In quo hoc profecto legentibus incredibile futurum prospicio, distantissimas non solum argumenti sed et corporum partes instituisse nonnunquam, quae conjunctae ita inter se convenirent ut aptius fieri nihil potuisset. Nimirum ita mens artificis singularis instructa omni cognitione et intelligentia veritatis consensusque inter se partium, ipsa moderabatur ac regebat manum, jubebatque sibi absque ullis adminiculis fidere."

‡ "Similis erat promptitudo penniculum tenentis quo minutissima quoque in linteo tabellave perscribebat, nulla designatione praemissa, sic ut non culpari modo posset nihil, sed laudem etiam omnia summam invenirent. Maxime admirabile fuit hoc lauda-

Camerarius goes on to relate the anecdote about Giovanni Bellini, already alluded to,* and then speaks of the high esteem which Dürer entertained for Andrea Mantegna, and his sorrowful regret that he was not permitted to become personally acquainted with this restorer of the art of painting. "For although Albert stood so high, he was ever striving, with his grand and lofty spirit, after something still higher." † "For the rest, there is nothing unbecoming, nothing degrading in his works, for his pure mind repudiated all such things. How truly was this artist worthy of his fame! As to the varying expressions of the human countenance, that which is now called a portrait, how exactly has he rendered them, how unerringly, how truthfully! And he carried this passion for truth so far, that he introduced it into the theory and practice of art, a thing hitherto unknown, and quite unheard of among our artists. For who is there among them who could explain the rules he had followed in the execution of any one of his works which had brought him the greatest fame, and prove that his success was due to his knowledge rather than to chance?" ‡

The manner in which Camerarius, in this affectionate description of his friend, grasped the full conception of the outward and inward man, and blended it with that of the artist, corresponds entirely with the view, which from our more

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tissimis pictoribus, quibus in illa re versatis plurimum, difficultas non esset ignota."

* Vol. i. pp. 351, 352.

† "Quamvis enim Albertus summus esset, tamen aliquid animo suo magno et excelso supra concupiscebat semper."

‡ "Ceterum nulla spurcities, nullum dedecus in ipsius operibus exstat, refugientibus scilicet talia omnia castissimi animi cogitationibus. O dignum tali successu artificem! Jam expressiones viventium vultuum, quae contrafacta nunc vocant, quam similes conficiebat, quam infallibiles, quam veras? Quae omnia eo consequebatur, quod ad artem et rationem usum revocarat, ignotam hactenus et inauditam pictoribus nostratibus saltem. Quis enim illorum fuit, qui operis sui, quo maximam quoque famam adeptus esset, rationem explicare posset, ut magis scientia quam casu laudem invenisse crederetur!"

distant and therefore more objective standpoint we now form of Dürer's works. With him, as with all artists, there is an intimate connection between the man's individual characteristics and his works; to understand the one without the other is impossible. Even the worship of his own personality was inherent in his very being, and was connected in a marked manner with his loftiest efforts as an artist. With it, too, was bound up his purest ideal, and its nature was so prolific as to exclude any thought of personal vanity.

Manifold as are the paintings, engravings, and woodcuts in which Dürer has represented events taken from the life of Christ, they form but a portion of the compositions which, in the shape of countless studies and sketches, are devoted to these sacred subjects. He considered it to be the highest object of his life to picture the history of "the redemption of sinful man," to use Klopstock's expression. The life and sufferings of Jesus, those most momentous events in the world's history, the importance of which is not to be measured by their truth but by the influence they exercised over the minds of nations, were interpreted by him with a profoundness unequalled by any master before or since. Instead of vainly endeavouring to realise an occult divinity under vague and uncertain forms, he boldly went for his sacred types to the purely human element, beyond which we cannot penetrate, and which is our only source of truth. Guided by the realistic tendencies of German art, and following the example of Schongauer and Wolgemut, Dürer formed his conceptions of the life of Christ on earth exactly as if it had all taken place in the Nuremberg of his day, and in the midst of his contemporaries. The sacred dramas and the Passion-plays, which flourished more especially at Nuremberg, may have been highly favourable to this kind of conception; but in their seemingly coarse realism there lay a powerful spiritual force, a peculiar kind of idealism, by

which the whole burgher life, the actual life of the time, was exalted and ennobled. Thus the mystery of God made Man introduced the artist into the long-closed sanctuary of the human heart. Having once arrived at this concrete conception of the sacred tragedy, Dürer treated it with a freedom quite unequalled. His pictures of the Passion are all so happily thought out, the subject is so nobly treated, and the expressions of the figures so thrilling, that they have become models for posterity.

But it was to the figure of the Redeemer that he especially devoted his powers. For him Christ was the complete type of the self-contained but energetic man, as far removed from any outward manifestation of feeling as from weak sensibility. This ideal he carries out even in the smallest details, and endeavours to make it felt in every action of Christ's life—in His sufferings and His death, and even in the sorrowful glorification of His sacred head beneath the crown of thorns. Nowhere is it better realised than in the copper engraving of 1513,* of which the initial letter of this chapter is a facsimile, taken from the marginal drawings in the Emperor Maximilian's Prayer-book of 1515 at Munich; there is a pen-drawing of the same subject in the Uffizii at Florence; another, somewhat larger, and in which the expression of the features is calmer, in the Albertina. But amongst the grandest of these representations of Christ is the large and celebrated woodcut, ascribed to Dürer.† Although this work was assuredly neither drawn

* Bartsch, 25.

† Bartsch, App. 26. Heller, 1629. Retberg, A. 41. Compare Eye, *Dürer*, 448, 516, Appendix 532; and *Anzeiger für Kunst deutscher Vorzeit*, viii. 1861. The earliest impressions in chiaroscuro have a brownish tint, and belong to the seventeenth century; they are probably of Flemish origin, and are very rare. Von Eye describes a damaged copy, in the possession of a Nuremberg antiquary, which formerly belonged to Rumohr. Another, in good preservation, is in the Albertina at Vienna. The ordinary impressions are from the restored block, completed on both sides. There exists an old copy in which St. Vero-

by Dürer himself upon the block nor engraved under his direction, yet in a certain sense it is his, having been probably executed from one of his later drawings. Without some such model it would be impossible to conjecture how it could have been done. As to certain blemishes, they may be accounted for by the dimensions of the design having been enlarged. In any case, Dürer's authorship cannot be disputed. Whoever it may have been that transferred Dürer's probably smaller drawing to the block, was so inspired with his spirit, that this posthumous work well deserves the reputation it has acquired. With but a few strokes of the brush an effect is obtained which, in proportion to the means employed, is quite unprecedented. Though resting outwardly calm, the face betrays the deepest inward emotion, and on the features are stamped an expression of dignity and grief, while the large clear eyes speak of the agony of sacrifice as well as of the consciousness of victory. Not unjustly has the majestic sorrow depicted in this countenance been compared with the serene grandeur of the head of Zeus found at Otricoli, and attributed to Phidias. It would, in fact, be difficult to find two types in which the contrast between the ancient conception of the world and the modern Christian one is so strikingly embodied as in these two ideal representations of the Deity.

But Dürer created the modern idea of Christ by borrowing the principal features from his own countenance. He himself remarks somewhere: "Every mother is pleased with her own child; whence it happens that many painters' works resemble themselves"*—a well-known experience, the consequences of which Dürer avoided less than any one. The old Oriental type of Christ, which the Van Eycks

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nica's handkerchief has been added; Bartsch, App. 27; Heller, 1628.

* Zahn, *Jahrbücher für Kunstwissenschaft*, i. 8.

and Rogier van der Weyden still made use of, which Schongauer adhered to, and which is still perpetuated at Rome as the "*Vera effigies*," displays a high rounded forehead, arched eyebrows, a straight nose, and the lower part of the face and the chin pointed: it is expressive simply of gentleness and suffering. In Dürer, instead of this merely passive look, we have the long head of medium width, a broad, massive forehead seamed with four wrinkles, a long nose, with a well-arched bridge, deep-set eyes, a broad, powerful chin, and abundant curling hair. It is an energetic German face; in brief, it is in all essential points Dürer's own countenance.

When Dürer painted the remarkable portrait of himself now at Munich, he was probably not unaware of the likeness between it and his ideal type of Christ. This may, perhaps, account for the head being uncovered, notwithstanding that he wears a fur hood; as well as for the solemn bearing, the careful, symmetrical arrangement of the hair upon the shoulders, and the sorrowful earnestness of the features! That this was the opinion current in Nuremberg at the end of the sixteenth century is proved by a picture of Johann Fischer's, Dürer's well-known imitator, in the Schleisheim Gallery, representing the woman taken in adultery, where the head of Christ is simply a faithful copy of Dürer's portrait of himself at Munich.

Dürer, however, was conscious of having placed himself in antagonism to tradition by the introduction of a new type of Christ. A curious illustration of this is furnished to us by a half-length 'Ecce Homo' in the Kunsthalle at Bremen, which, though bearing the genuine date of 1514, is yet entirely of the old mediæval type.* This little

* It is a bust two-thirds life-size, full face, and painted on panel on a dark ground; height, 0.195; breadth, 0.175. The hair is smooth, and falls

picture, though without any especial merits, and in which the eyes—as is often the case with Dürer—do not quite match, is perfectly genuine and in good preservation. How is this tardy exception to his general rule to be explained? Under no circumstances is it likely that Dürer would of his own accord have abandoned a type which he had created ten years before, and adhered to ever since. Powerful external influences must have intervened: either the picture was painted as a substitute for an older votive one, or the person who commissioned it objected to the new type as incorrect and profane, and forbade its use.

Since the time of Xenophon it has been asserted both of men and of entire nations that their divinities are only the abstractions of their own being; and the same holds good of the creative work of a single artist. That work is in a way a complete personification of its author; the master identifies himself with the subject he is representing. It is the same with Dürer's Christ as with Goethe's Werther or Faust. The secret of the most profound artistic influence lies in the concentration of a rich individuality upon a well-approved popular subject. Thus Dürer, with the most telling results, borrowed his ideal of manhood from his own person. The commonly received opinion that he had the head of a Christ is so far based upon correct observation; but it is a *hysteron proteron*, which, to be correct, should be understood in the reverse sense, viz. that our modern representations of Christ have Dürer's features.

In order, therefore, to understand Dürer, it is not enough to become acquainted with him as a painter and a designer. Not the artist only, but the individual man and his whole

well off the forehead. The beard is lank, and ends in two points. The nimbus is cross-shaped, with rays diverging between. On the red, gold-bordered drapery are the letters J.H.S., X.P.S. The date and monogram, which are genuine, are on the right.

life—the writer, the thinker, the citizen, the patriot, must alike be taken into consideration. Such as he is, within and without, he appears himself like a work of art from the hand of a greater master. What Goethe asserted of Leonardo da Vinci when he called him a "normal man" (*Normalmensch*) is true in a still nobler sense of Dürer. He is a model man among artists as Goethe himself among poets.

VIRGIN AND CHILD.

(From the pen-drawing of 1518 in the Berlin Museum.)

CHAPTER XIV.

DÜRER AND THE EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN.

"His Imperial Majesty of worshipful memory departed this life too soon for me."—DÜRER.

ERY imperfect would be our conception of Dürer, did it not include some knowledge of his public life as a citizen and a patriot. So long as he had to struggle for the means of existence, and to devote all his efforts to attaining perfection in his art, he had but little leisure for occupying himself with public duties. Once, however, his circumstances were assured and his fame beyond dispute, he gave way to his natural impulse and displayed his love of country and his devotion to the Emperor. In 1509 he purchased, for ready money, his house near the Thiergärtner Thor, and in the same year was chosen a member of the Great Council. Although this gave him but little more than a nominal influence in the government of Nuremberg, still it increased his importance as a burgher, and was a recognition of his merits by his fellow-citizens. He soon afterwards received from his native place the first commission it ever gave him.

The imperial jewels and the regalia of the Emperor,

enriched with many relics which had been preserved at Nuremberg since the days of King Sigismund, were every year at Easter exhibited for the people to worship. The Friday on which this public adoration took place was called "*Heiligthumfest*"—"the Feast of Relics," or shortly, "*Heiltum.*" A stage was erected, called the "*Heiltums-Stuhl,*" in the market-place in front of the Schopper house. On the eve of the Feast the relics were deposited in a room in this house; the rest of the year they hung in a metal shrine under the vault of the Spitalkirche. In the year 1430, the Council had adorned the room in the Schopper house with a picture, and a commission was now given to Dürer to paint for the same room two large portraits of the Emperor Charlemagne and King Sigismund.* He must have received this order in 1510, otherwise it is difficult to understand why he should just at that time have undertaken a series of exact studies of the different objects in the regalia. These studies are pen-sketches done in blue ink, and washed with colour. One of them represents a powerful beardless man in full coronation-robes, holding the sword in his right hand, and the imperial orb in his left; and bears the inscription, "This is the costume of the holy, great Emperor Charles, 1510" (*Das ist des heilgen grossen Keiser Karels habitus,* 1510). This sketch, which is in the Albertina, was, though a full-length, evidently done in view of the picture.† The other studies are separate sketches of the imperial crown with a red cushion, and with the inscriptions "REX SALOMON" on the right, and "PER ME REGES REGNANT" on the left; of the imperial orb; and of a part of the imperial sword, with the hilt and the inscription, "This is the Emperor Charles's

* Baader, *Beiträge* i. 6; ii. 6. Compare, as to the word "Heiltum," *Dürers Briefe,* 189.

† Compare Heller, p. 116, No. 123. It was etched by H. C. Favant in 1818.

sword, just the exact size of it, and the blade is as long as the string with which this paper is tied outside" (*Daz ist keiser Karls schwert, awch dy recht gros, vnd ist dy kling eben als lang, als der strick, domit daz papier awssen punden ist*). These representations of the imperial insignia, among which there was formerly one of the gloves, are all life-size. They belong to Herr Alfred von Franck of Gratz.* The devotion with which Dürer set about this work shows clearly the nature of his sentiments.

The portraits of the Emperors Charlemagne and Sigismund, both considerably larger than life, are now in the collection of pictures in the Town-hall at Nuremberg. That of Charlemagne, a three-quarter length, full face, in the historical coronation-robes, studded with precious stones, gold, and pearls, produces a powerful and dignified impression. It is an ideal countenance, with a long prominent nose and luxuriant chestnut beard and hair, tinged with grey. There is an awe-inspiring look in the brown eyes, and the slightly projecting underlip adds to the general expression of determination. On either side of his head, upon a dark background, are the arms of Germany and France, the single-headed black eagle on a gold ground, and the three golden fleurs-de-lis on a blue ground. There is also the following rhyming inscription:

"This is the face and form exact
Of Kaiser Carl, who did enact
That Roman and German one should be;
His crown and all his finery
Are shown at Nuremberg every year,
With other relics held most dear." †

* Compare Heller, 84, Nos. 96–99, 129–130, and 51 *a–c*. The sketch of the glove (*b*) with the inscription "This is Kaiser Karl's glove also of the right size,' was sold at the sale of the Franç. Gräffer Collection at Artaria's, Vienna, April 2, 1838, p. 8 in the sale catalogue.

† Heller, p. 208. Von Eye (*A. Dürer*, 341–342) conjectures with reason that the head of Johannes Stabius served Dürer as a model. The portrait was engraved on copper by A. Reindel in 1847.

The pendant is exactly the same size, but as five coats-of-arms, among which may be seen those of Bohemia in the middle, are introduced in the upper part, the figure of King Sigismund is rather smaller, being lower down in the panel, and not seen to the knees. The head is individualised to an exaggerated degree, and coincides with the likeness of Sigismund on the great imperial seal attached to his edicts. This, together with the peculiar hooped crown, and the royal robes with a green under-garment showing beneath, lead us to infer that Dürer had some old authentic portrait before him; perhaps it was the picture of 1430, of which mention has already been made. Sigismund is looking to the left. He has grey eyes; the double-pointed beard and moustaches are fair; the hair short; the nose is very aquiline, long, and pointed. It is an unattractive and almost repulsive picture, and seems only intended to serve as a contrast to the grand and noble features of Charlemagne; more indeed a foil than a pendant, something like a fox beside a lion. The inscription runs thus:

"This is the Emperor Sigismund's face,
To whom this city owes many a grace;
He numerous gifts on it bestowed,
With many a relic it endowed,
Which are yearly shown—a goodly store—
Since fourteen hundred and twenty-four."

The pictures are unfortunately not well preserved. They have lately been much painted over, that of Charlemagne especially. In the portrait of Sigismund more of the original execution can be traced. It is somewhat broad, and shows none of the minute care, the "great application," which Dürer had bestowed upon his masterpieces of preceding years. It corresponds, in fact, with the price, eighty-five florins, one pound of new pennies, and ten shillings, which Dürer received from the Council in 1512.*

* Copies of both heads are in the Ambras Collection at Vienna.

The fact of these portraits having been completed in that year, explains the striking resemblance of Charlemagne's features to those of the imperial historian, mathematician, and poet-laureate, Johannes Stab or Stabius, who came to Nuremberg with Maximilian at the beginning of that year, and, staying there longer than the Emperor, became, as we shall see, intimately acquainted with Dürer.

The residence of Maximilian I. at Nuremberg, from the 4th to the 15th of February, 1512, was full of importance for Dürer. He was now to have plenty of opportunities of coming in contact with his Imperial Majesty. Up to this time the only things the Emperor had demanded of the Nuremberg Council had been an enormous number of crucibles and innumerable hundredweights of the valuable clay found at Heroldsberg, which was peculiarly fitted for the manufacture of these crucibles,* and of which the town had a monopoly. Maximilian required them for the brass foundries where the monument he was having erected for himself in the Franciscan church at Innspruck, by Peter Vischer and others, was being cast. The Emperor, who was always on the move, hoped to find in this church a last resting-place, though, as it turned out, he found it not there, but in the Wiener Neustadt.† During his lifetime the head of the Roman Empire and German nation had, in fact, no fixed residence. The Emperors of those days were always journeying from palace to palace, and from city to city, when not occupied with war and conquest in foreign countries. Their native land was the stirrup, and the saddle their home. The last of these nomadic Emperors might therefore well conceive the idea of raising, in the shape of printed pages, monuments equally capable of transmission from place to place, and his views were favoured by the rage for

* Baader, *Beiträge* i. 34.

† A town about six miles from Vienna.

publication which just then began to be awakened in the German people.

Maximilian stood on the borders of two ages. His natural instincts led him to cling eagerly to many traditions of the mighty past, in strong contrast to a sedentary diplomatist and bureaucrat like the Emperor Charles IV. of Luxemburg, whom he styled the stepfather of the Empire. He himself was called by the people "the last of the knights;" Napoleon I. would have dubbed him an "ideologist;" and David Strauss would have seen in him a "Romanticist upon the throne of the Cæsars." Maximilian had a thoroughly poetic nature. A happy imagination and a great idea of his exalted position made up to him for any want of success in his many wars and political negotiations. His sincere love of art was thus always nourished. He never tired of having the historical events of his reign described in written and pictorial records. But the task was not entirely left to the scholars of his court; the Emperor himself wrote or dictated the projects and the verses. It was from his own sketches and directions that Hans Burgkmair drew the 245 woodcuts for the *Weisskuning* (White King), and that his private secretary, Marx Treytz-Saurwein, wrote the explanatory text. Melchior Pfinzing, the Prior of St. Sebald's at Nuremberg, had the same object in view in composing the *Theuerdank* (Thanksgiving), for which Hans Schäufelein furnished 118 blocks, and the printer Schönsperger at Augsburg prepared the beautifully cut Gothic letters used in the editions of 1517 and 1519.* This love of fame and naïve delight in the glorification of his own person are further proofs that the Emperor Max was the true child of his age. No one was so akin to him in this respect as the painter of his choice, Albert Dürer.

* For Maximilian's writings and the editions of these illustrated books, see Mosel, *Geschichte der K. K. Hof-bibliothek*, p. 16 *et seq.*

To Dürer, therefore, fell the lion's share of the Emperor's commissions. It was a question of publishing a work which was to surpass, both in richness and size, everything that wood-engraving had hitherto accomplished. The learned councillors of the Emperor were fully occupied in collecting the historical material. They vied with one another in bold inventions and subtle allegories and allusions, which taxed the ingenuity of the artists to the utmost. The whole work was named 'The Triumph,' and was divided into two parts. The first half represented the 'Triumphal Arch' (*Ehrenpforte*), the pictorial part of which was undoubtedly entrusted to Dürer in the year 1512, while Johannes Stabius had charge of the literary part, and looked after the numerous German inscriptions.

As far as we know at present, this many-sided man was an Austrian, perhaps a Viennese, by birth.* Johann Cuspinian, the poet, physician, and historian, says in the preface to his 'Life of Maximilian,' that Stabius was a man of keen intellect and rare learning, and that for sixteen years, without intermission, he had been the Emperor's companion in war and peace. His pupil, the astronomer Tanstetter, states in 1514, that Stabius had given proof, in a variety of the arts and sciences, of an acute and penetrating mind, and was the author of numerous works in prose and verse which would merit the approbation of posterity. The Emperor, he adds, took constant pleasure in the strange things which Stabius devised, and esteemed him so highly that he instituted a new Chair of Astronomy and Mathematics for him at Vienna. This refers to that *Collegium Poëtarum et Mathematicorum* which Maximilian founded at the University of Vienna, in the year 1501, under the presidency of

* See Sotzmann, *über J. Stabius und dessen Weltkarte von* 1515; *Monatsberichte über die Verhandl. der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin*, 1848, *Neue Folge* v. 232 *et seq.*

Conrad Celtes, and to which he gave the power of appointing poets-laureate. Stabius was the first upon whom this distinction was conferred—in the year immediately following. He was already a member of the *Societas Danubiana* established by Celtes, and had acted in the '*Ludus Dianae*' when that comedy of Celtes was performed before the Emperor. Like Celtes, he attached much importance to a connection with Nuremberg, and hastened to take advantage of the opportunities which this city offered as a starting-point both for the Emperor's undertakings as well as his own.

In Dürer, Stabius found the man he wanted. His intercourse with the talented master appears so to have captivated him, that he stayed in Nuremberg until the end of July.* Dürer, on his part, must have entered with great zeal into the work, for as early as December 12, 1512, the Emperor wished to recompense him by exempting him from taxation. He accordingly wrote a despatch to the Nuremberg Council from Landau, in which he says:—"Since Albert Dürer, a trusty servant of ourselves and of the empire, has shown great diligence in the execution of the drawings which he has made for our undertaking, and has also offered to continue to do them always in the same way, thereby affording us peculiar satisfaction; also because the said Dürer, as has often been reported to us, surpasses other masters in the art of painting; we have been moved to help him with our especial favour, and we therefore desire earnestly that, out of regard for us, you would exempt the said Dürer from all the ordinary city charges, such as taxes, assessments, and so forth; taking into consideration our goodwill and his renowned art, which he ought to exercise among you under favourable conditions; nor should such

* V. Eye, *A. Dürer*, 361, Note 89.

our demand be denied to us, for it is fitting that this should be so, both for our pleasure and for the furthering of the said art amongst you. We doubt not of the favourable reception you will give this our letter." The noble intentions and good advice of the Emperor made no impression upon the Nuremberg Council, who would listen to nothing about freedom from taxation. Dürer himself relates subsequently, in 1524, that, at the solicitation of some of the "Elteren Herren," who treated with him upon the subject, he "voluntarily renounced every mark of favour, in order to show his respect for the Council, and to preserve its privileges, customs, and prerogatives." *

Dürer kept his word with the Emperor, and continued to work hard, even without any pay, so that the drawings for the first half of the colossal work were ready for the wood-engravers in 1515. The "Triumphal Arch" † consists of ninety-two blocks, which when put together form one woodcut, 10½ feet high by 9 feet wide. Stabius informs us in a long description and commentary, which was to be added below, that "the Emperor Maximilian's Arch of Triumph is arranged in the same form as the triumphal arches formerly erected in honour of the Roman Emperors in the city of Rome; of which some are in ruins, and some still to be seen." That this was the intention, both of the scholar and the artist, is worth noting, for Dürer's finished work would hardly suggest the idea of a Roman triumphal arch. The whole has much more the appearance of the lofty buildings, with steep-pitched gables, belonging to the period of the German Renaissance. The two circular towers at each end, round which are scrolls with inscriptions, recall the spiral lanterns at the angles

* Campe, *Reliquien*, 60. *Dürers Briefe*, 163 and 52. Baader, *Jahrbücher für Kunstwissenschaft*, i. 222 and 243.

† Bartsch, 138.

of French and German castles; but the cupolas and lunettes, which crown the pyramidal erections, are unmistakably of Venetian origin. In unison with the generally elevated appearance of the whole building are the three gates, which are rather narrow, and above and between which there is plenty of space for the exuberant caprices of the scholar and the artist. The largest and principal entrance in the middle is "the Gate of Honour and Power," on the top of which is perched a charming figure of Fortuna, a perfect gem, holding the Imperial crown. The wall above is adorned with the genealogical tree of the illustrious House of Austria, the upper part being occupied by the Emperor himself, enthroned and surrounded by a number of floating genii of victory, while below are his successors, each holding in his hand the pomegranate, the symbol of plenty and Maximilian's own emblem. On the raised panels on either side of the genealogical tree, are arranged in two lines the 102 escutcheons of the countries and provinces subject to him. Over the two smaller side gates—"the Gate of Praise" and "the Gate of Nobility"—scenes from Maximilian's history are introduced in twenty-four compartments, and above each is a scroll with explanatory verses by Stabius. These scenes represent chiefly military or political events, and are full of picturesque details and excellently cut. The rich variety of these compositions, and of the ornamental accessories, defies all description. With regard to the work as a whole, its unity, and the harmony of its proportions, necessarily suffer from the profusion of learned matter and artistic conceits with which it is overladen. What is most remarkable, are the reminiscences of Venetian architecture. The clustered columns, which bulge and taper in an arbitrary fashion, have a strange and uncouth appearance. From the large size of the work, there is, it is true, little opportunity of looking at it as a whole; all the more

pleasing, therefore, is it to note the delicate and ingenious treatment of the details. The older impressions, previous to the edition published by Adam Bartsch in 1799, are very rare. The question of their date still requires to be investigated.

The 'Triumphal Arch of the Emperor Maximilian' is the grandest thing ever produced in wood-engraving. With that unexampled precision peculiar to him alone, Dürer drew the design with pen and brush upon the blocks, and Hieronymus Andreæ, who had trained himself to Dürer's hand, engraved each stroke with equal accuracy.* He was, indeed, "the most skilful, and the first of all wood-engravers, in everything pertaining to his art." The gigantic composition is not signed with Dürer's usual monogram, but displays below on the right the laurel-crowned arms of the learned author Stabius, and those of some unknown person. These latter are divided diagonally into two parts; the upper showing a goat rampant, the lower, six diagonal chevrons.† Close by appears modestly a smaller escutcheon, with Dürer's arms, the open door on a hill. The date 1515, written very large at the bottom at both ends, doubtless marks the time of the completion of the drawing. Stabius came back to Nuremberg that same year, with commissions from the Emperor. In the letter which he brought with him, dated Augsburg, May 3, the Emperor charges the Council to put pressure on the painters, to whom Stabius has confided the execution

* Neudörffer, *Nachrichten*, 46. See too *Archiv für Zeichn. Künste*, xii. 56. Neudörffer knew Hieronymus personally, but is wrong in calling him Rösch.

† It has been conjectured that these were the arms of Dürer's friend Benedict Cheledonius, the author of the Latin translation of the verses, who was appointed Abbot of the Schottenkloster at Vienna in 1518, and died there in 1521. Whether they may not rather have to do with Hieronymus Emser, a learned friend of Pirkheimer's, born at Ulm in 1477, and who was called "the goat" because that animal figured on his escutcheon, is a question I am not able to decide.

of the designs, and whom he will name to them, in order that they may finish the work as soon as possible.* As early as January 5, 1514, the Emperor had, when at Rothenburg-on-the-Inn, communicated his intention to the Council of restoring the Emperor's window at St. Sebald's; and had desired the Council to lend him for this purpose 200 florins, and remit them to his councillor, the Prior Melchior Pfinzing. This time the Council obeyed his wishes. The window restored by Maximilian, behind the high altar in the church of St. Sebald, bears underneath the dedication the date 1515.† Whether Dürer furnished the designs for it is open to question.

The presence of the imperial historiographer Stabius in Nuremberg, gave Dürer an opportunity, now that the drawings for the 'Triumphal Arch' were finished, of claiming his good offices with the Emperor with respect to a yearly pension of 100 florins which had been promised him at some former period. He also wrote a letter about this affair the same year to the Nuremberg statesman Christoph Kress, who was at the Imperial Court.‡ He prayed him to inquire whether Stabius had at all succeeded in his behalf, and if not, he then begged that Kress would himself intercede with the Emperor. Kress might plead "that he (Dürer) had served his Imperial Majesty for three years, and had been a loser by it, and that if he had not used the utmost diligence the beautiful work (the 'Triumphal Arch,' doubtless) would not have been brought to such a happy

* Baader, *Beiträge* 36. It has yet to be ascertained whether paintings were here intended as well as woodcuts: it is not, however, at all likely.

† See Murr's *Journal*, xv. 54; and Baader's often cited work.

‡ Campe, *Reliquien*, 55: *Dürers Briefe*, 39, 138, 139. I have since become convinced that this letter belongs to the year 1515. Herr Ludwig Geiger, in his very profound critique of my *Dürers Briefe* (*Göttinger gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1873, Part 25, p. 977), has already remarked that the letter referred to Maximilian.

conclusion. He begs his Imperial Majesty therefore to remunerate him with the 100 florins." This intercession met with the best results, for the imperial grant to Dürer bears the date of that same year, September 6, 1515. In it the Emperor says, "that he has seen and taken into consideration the skill, ability, and intelligence, for which our and the Empire's trusty and well-beloved Albert Dürer has been extolled before us; likewise the acceptable, faithful, and valuable services which he so often and willingly has rendered in manifold ways to us and the Holy Empire, as well as to our person, services which he still daily renders, and can and will continue henceforth to render." He grants to him therefore a pension of 100 Rhenish florins for life, to be paid to him every year in the Emperor's name, out of the ordinary city taxes of Nuremberg. This time the imperial order was respected, though afterwards, regardless of other engagements, Maximilian gave over the whole of the taxes of Nuremberg to the Elector Frederick of Saxony for six years. The Elector, an old patron of Dürer's, did not, however, allow him to suffer by this, and expressly authorised the payment of his pension.* Dürer himself states in 1520, in a letter to Spalatin, that he "received the 100 florins yearly during his Imperial Majesty's lifetime." †

In the letter to Christoph Kress, Dürer pleads towards the end, "that besides the 'Triumph' he has done a variety of other drawings for his Imperial Majesty." These are, first of all, the eight patron saints of Austria, standing in a row side by side, noble figures engraved on wood.‡ In the first proofs, which are rare, there are only six of these saints, Quirinus, Maximilian, Florian, Severin, Koloman, and the

* *Dürers Briefe*, 165. M.M. Mayer, *Des alten Nürnbergs Sitten und Gebräuche*, 1835, ii. 1, 24, *et seq.* Baader, *Jahrbücher für Kunstwissenschaft.*

† *Dürers Briefe*, 43, 27.

‡ Bartsch, 116; Heller, 1880; Retberg, 219.

Margrave Leopold. Dürer added two others for the second edition of 1517, upon a separate block, viz. Poppo and Otto von Freising the historian, of the Babenberg family. They were accompanied by a prayer, in verse, by Johannes Stabius, "*Ad sanctos Austriae patronos*," &c. Maximilian, as we know, gave a still more extensive order of this description to Hans Burgkmair for 124 representations of saints belonging to his own race.*

Stabius took advantage of his residence at Nuremberg, and his intercourse with the artists there, to publish his astronomical and geographical tables, which have much more merit than his laboured verses, and in which the Emperor was certainly not less interested. For this purpose he also had recourse to Dürer, though it is only the larger and more difficult of the woodcuts which can be referred to the latter's own hand. The most worth notice are the two cuts representing, one the southern and the other the northern hemisphere of the heavens, with the constellations; and a larger map of the world, in which is shown a view in perspective of the eastern hemisphere of the earth, with the old continent.† They were designed by Stabius, with the help of the Nuremberg astronomer, Conrad Heinfogel, and dedicated to the Cardinal Archbishop of Salzburg, Matthæus Lang, and were accompanied by an imperial

* Bartsch, No. 82. Bartsch published at Vienna, in 1799, a new edition of the woodcuts of 1515 and 1518. Schäufelein and Springinklee contributed some of the cuts. Further on, in the sixteenth chapter (p. 242), we shall again refer to the St. Koloman (Bartsch, 106), a woodcut which Stabius first published in 1513, also with verses.

† Bartsch, 150, 152, and 151. Retberg, 215, 216, and A. 66. Passavant, 201. There is no doubt that the map of the world, which consists of two sheets intended to be placed together, forms part of this publication; it should therefore be included amongst Dürer's works; only the first cut, representing the *Imagines coeli meridionalis*, bears at the bottom on a tablet the following inscription: — "Joann. Stabius ordinavit. Conradus Heinfogel stellas posuit. Albertus Dürer imaginibus circumscripsit."

patent of 1515. Dürer drew the hemispheres upon the blocks, as well as the heads and other ornaments in the corners. His arms, with the open door, are to be seen on the first-mentioned cut with those of the two astronomers. The blocks of the two charts of the heavens are now in the Print-room of the Berlin Museum; that of the northern hemisphere is entire, but of the southern there is only the round part in the middle.* The blocks of the map of the world, with the heads of the winds in the margin, and in which, for the first time, a drawing of the globe in perspective was ventured upon, and that by a master-hand, are in the Imperial Library at Vienna. The map was published at Vienna in 1781, together with other woodcuts found among Stabius's effects.† Stabius died suddenly at Gratz, in the year 1522. The woodcuts which he left became subsequently the property of the Jesuit College there, and afterwards passed to Vienna. Among those which still exist, Stabius's arms, with the laurel crown‡ (not, however, the one with the inscription §), and the arms with the three lions' heads,‖ can alone be traced back to a drawing of Dürer's. These latter also appear in Plate XI. of the collection just referred to, upon the *Culminatorium Fixarum*, and next to the arms of Stabius, which evidently shows that they belonged to some learned astronomer.

* This was cut out at an early period and reprinted with Dürer's likeness, and the date 1527, and placed in another frame. Bartsch (No. 150) took it to be a different cut from the one he has catalogued as No. 152. With regard to other states of this cut see Retberg, No. 215.

† *Sammlung verschiedener Holzschnitte, grössentheils nach A. Dürers Zeichnungen, wovon sich die Originalplatten auf der K. K. Hofbibliothek befinden*, Vienna, 1781, fol. Compare C. Ritter, *Ueber Stabius Weltkarte:* "We may therefore reckon the great German master, who studied all the arts and sciences of his day, as among the first of our German geographers and cartographers; he it was who authoritatively led the way," &c. *Monatsberichte der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde in Berlin;* New Series, v. 230, with plates. See too Sotzmann in the same volume, p. 232 *et seq.*

‡ Bartsch, 166.

§ *Idem*, 165. ‖ *Idem*, 169.

They were probably intended for book-plates, and the emblems in the upper corners of the pages no doubt refer to the college (*Gelehrten Collegium*) founded at Vienna by Celtes.

Dürer was in the habit of designing these book-plates for his literary friends. They may frequently be met with, sometimes as drawings, sometimes as woodcuts, and represent either the arms, embellished with ornaments, of the owner, or some free allegorical composition. There is in the Berlin Museum a slightly coloured pen-drawing of the year 1513, of a winged cauldron standing on goose-feet, and, above, a lion rampant rising out of a crown, and a scroll with the inscription, "FORTES . FORTVNA . IVVAT." Another design in the same museum represents a wheel of fortune, on which two men holding an axe and a hammer are being whirled upwards, and two others, with a pair of pincers and a square, downwards. At the top, in the middle, sits the Goddess of Fortune, crowned, and holding a sceptre; the four corners are filled in with vine branches. This drawing is also done with the pen, and coloured, and dates from about the year 1515. A later inscription on the back states expressly: "Albert Dürer did this for Melchior Pfinzing's book."* The nearly contemporaneous pen-drawing in the Gatteaux Collection at Paris, had a similar destination. It represents a wild man holding an escutcheon, and surrounded by ears of corn and vine tendrils.†

* Upon the scroll wound round the wheel is the unintelligible inscription, HILF . DGTGHE . LVCK . BERAT. Both drawings are photo-lithographed in *A. Dürer's Handzeichnungen*, by Gebr. Burchard, Nuremberg, 1871.

† Reproduced at p. 57 of Narrey's *Albert Dürer à Venise et dans les Pays-Bas*, Paris, 1866. The original drawing was burnt, together with nearly the whole of M. Gatteaux's collection, by the Commune in 1871. M. Gatteaux, however, still possesses three drawings attributed to Dürer. One of them, a hasty pen-drawing of about 1506 or 1507, represents the Virgin enthroned with the Infant Jesus; at the foot of the throne is a little angel playing the lute; and on either side are groups of male and female saints,

We shall speak further on of a book-plate drawn for Lazarus Spengler. An early woodcut for Pirkheimer's works has been already mentioned.* Nor must the charming woodcut with the arms of Ebner and Fürer,† and the motto "*Deus refugium meum*," be omitted here. Its destination is marked by the inscription at the bottom, "*Liber Hieronimi Ebner.*" Though only the date 1516 appears on it, and no monogram, yet there can be no doubt that Dürer himself drew the designs upon the block for his friend the councillor; and the same may be said of the arms of the imperial architect Johann Tscherte,‡ although the monogram upon them is not a genuine one. These arms display a satyr with two hounds in a leash, and are consequently a play upon Tscherte's name, the word "*tschert*," in Bohemian, signifying a devil or satyr; from which it may be inferred that Tscherte was of Bohemian origin. He was on friendly terms with Dürer, and helped him in his geometrical studies.§

Dürer's intimate connection with the learned men at the Imperial Court gave an ever-fresh stimulus to his strongly marked speculative tendencies. His love for the study of nature was continually heightened by new and unheard-of phenomena. He would not have been the true child of his age if he had not devoted especial attention to all

that on the right including Jacob, Joseph, St. Joachim, and St. Zacharias; and that on the left St. John, David, St. Elizabeth, and St. Anne; the donor, a female, kneels on the right in an attitude of prayer. Another of these designs, in black chalk on a green ground, represents in profile the figure of an apostle standing. And in the third, in crayon on a green ground, and bearing the date 1522, are seen the profile of a young woman, and the two hands of a man one upon the other.

* See vol. i. pp. 272–3.

† Bartsch, App. 45; Heller, 1940; Retberg, A. 53.

‡ Bartsch, 170; Heller, 1948; Retberg, 244.

§ See vol. i. p. 154; also *Dürers Briefe*, pp. 177 and 241. An analogous drawing, with an inscription, in the Imperial Library at Vienna, leaves no doubt as to the ownership of the arms. (J. Wussin, *Archiv für Zeichn. Künste*, x. 369.)

strange natural objects. Even when quite young he had thought a porcine abortion worthy of his burin.* In the year 1512 he made a sketch of a human monster with a double head and shoulders on a single trunk, which came into the world at the village of Ertingen. It is remarkable how cleverly Dürer has represented the strange twin-forms, both in front and behind, so that they appear droll rather than repulsive. The drawing, done with the pen, and surrounded by large caligraphic flourishes, accompanied by a careful description,† is in the University Galleries at Oxford. In the following year, 1513, a rhinoceros was brought from India to King Emanuel the Great of Portugal, the first which had reached Europe alive since the time of the Romans. The sensation occasioned by this strange monster induced some countryman of Dürer's, then at Lisbon, to send either to him or to one of his learned friends a more or less exact drawing of it, which Dürer hastened to reproduce as a large woodcut, together with the wonderful description of the eye-witness.‡ The original pen-drawing from which Dürer copied is in the British Museum. It shows the animal to the left, the reverse way of the woodcut, and still has on it the indications furnished by the artist's informant.§ The popularity enjoyed by this picture of the rhinoceros is proved by the number of impressions taken from Dürer's woodcut since 1515. The

* Bartsch, 95.

† "Item, on the 20th of July, in the year 1512 after the birth of Christ, there was born in Bavaria (*Peyrlant*), in the territory of the Lord of Werdenberg, in a village called Ertingen, close to Reidlingen, a monstrosity like that represented above: and one of the heads was baptised Elspeth, the other Margrett."

‡ Bartsch, 136; Heller, 1904.

§ "On the 8th of May, in the year 1513, a live animal, which they call a *rhinocerate*, was brought from India to Lisbon for the King of Portugal, and as it is such a curiosity, I must send you its likeness. . . . It is well armed with a thick skin, and is very frolicsome and in good condition. The animal is called *Rhinocero* in Greek and Latin, and in Indian *Gomda*."

double-tinted ones, in chiaroscuro, are not, however, from his own hand. As in the case of some of his other woodcuts, the coloured impression was added at a later date, in the Netherlands. This engraving of the rhinoceros served till quite recently as the model for all representations of that animal.

If these publications of a more literary character were not done by Maximilian's direct orders, they at any rate had his special approbation, and many of them were no doubt undertaken with an eye to some hoped-for reward from him. It must at any rate have been in obedience to a special command of the Emperor himself that the sketches of rich picturesque court costumes in the Albertina, done partly in water-colours and partly with the pen only, were executed. One of them represents a man in a loose, black, gold-bordered velvet mantle, walking towards the left, and is dated 1517;* and another, also a man, in a similar grey garment, but cut in a very peculiar fashion, and with ampler folds, and broad red-gold borders. The taller personage appears both full face and in profile, in a pathetic attitude. On another sheet, dated 1515, he is seen from behind. Though the dates are not of the same period as the drawings, they would seem to be genuine. There is no doubt that we have here sketches of the sumptuous court costumes then in vogue at the Burgundian Court.

Most remarkable of all the works belonging to this period, however, are the celebrated drawings on the margin of the pages of the Emperor Maximilian's Prayer-book, now in the Royal Library at Munich.† The Latin text for this

* There is a facsimile coloured woodcut in F. W. Bader's *Trachtenbilder von Albert Dürer aus der Albertina*, a work published by the Imperial Museum at Vienna on the occasion of Dürer's centenary in 1871. See also *Zeitschrift für bild. Kunst*, vi. 313.

† Lithographed by N. Strixner in 1808, and since repeatedly published. The last edition was F. X. Stöger's, published by G. Franz, at Munich, in 1850, with the letterpress of the original text. Compare what has been said about them by Goethe in the

Prayer-book had either been composed by the Emperor himself for his own personal use, or he had caused it to be drawn up for him. Johann Schönsperger of Augsburg provided the magnificent large characters, and took charge of the printing on parchment, with red headings and initials to the chapters. A second copy of the book, complete and very well preserved, is in the Imperial Library at Vienna. It is a masterpiece of typography, and belonged to the Fugger Library at Augsburg, whence, with the rest of that collection, it came to Vienna.* The printing was finished on the 30th December, 1514. The only other known copy in existence is the one formerly in the Josch collection at Linz, and now in the Library of the British Museum.†

The Munich copy, which was destined for the Emperor, is now very imperfect, and in place of the printed red initial letters has small ones, painted in body-colour. It was entrusted to Dürer, who was to fill in the wide parchment margins round the text with pen-and-ink drawings. The designs with which he covered the forty-five pages of the precious book, alternately in red, green, and violet ink, are a perfect outpouring of fantastic humour. The serious and the comic, the sacred and the profane, follow one another at random, gracefully intertwined with ornamental tracery, which is dashed off with wonderful freedom of hand, and the originality and variety of which might appear to be the result of caprice, but for the continual succession of fresh harmonies which it reveals. Sandrart‡ says of these drawings, that "the composition is so full of genius,

Jenaische Liter. Zeitung (1808); and also the clever criticism of W. Lübke in the *Deutsches Kunstblatt* (1850, pp. 268–271).

* The binding still bears the initials E. F., with the date MDLXVII. The imprint at the end of the text runs: "Joannes Schönsperger, Civis Augustanus, imprimebat. Anno Salutis MDXIIII. III. Kalendas Januarii."

† Described by Heller in *Dürers Werke*, 55.

‡ *Teutsche Akademie*, ii. 224.

and the execution so skilful, that they may be regarded as the most graceful and beautiful works Dürer's hand ever produced." There is indeed an infinite joyousness and exuberance of life running through the whole; the boughs and foliage seem to grow naturally, and to form separate waving lines, which suddenly combine in symmetrical arabesques, or end in a fantastic device. In the midst of it all are little birds singing, monkeys climbing, snails creeping, and midges buzzing; while escutcheons, game, drums, flutes, and violins, hang suspended by ribbons. It is the last genius-inspired manifestation of those primeval principles of ornamentation appertaining to the North and to all Teutonic countries, traces of which may be seen on the articles found in the oldest German tombs, and in the scroll-work of the Irish miniatures. But already the modern love of nature has begun to make itself felt; indigenous trees and plants, vine tendrils, thistles, roses, and oaks form the groundwork of the designs, and ill-favoured dragons and fictitious beasts have to give way more and more to the real living animals of creation. Columns or other antique decorative motives only occur exceptionally.

The marginal decorations in Maximilian's Prayer-book are as precisely characteristic of Dürer and German art as the contemporaneous ornaments of the Loggie in the Vatican are of Raphael and the Italians. These drawings of Dürer are no mere play of the fancy, indulging in meaningless imagery. On the contrary, they are full of deep purport, and always bear an ingenious relation to the text which they accompany, in the form sometimes of illustration, sometimes of ambiguous allusion, and sometimes even of bold parody. By the side of the prayers to St. Barbara, St. Sebastian, St. George, and others, are figures of those saints. Next to the reflections on human infirmity is a physician carefully examining a bottle filled with urine. The prayer for consolation at the

last hour is accompanied by a figure of Death appearing to a knight, who grasps the hilt of his sword with a terrified expression, while in the sky above a falcon is pouncing on a heron. Opposite the "*Pro benefactoribus interpellatio*," a wealthy burgher is bestowing alms upon a clamorous beggar. The heading of the Psalter represents King David kneeling and playing on the harp in the traditional fashion, while a stork turns its head towards him as if listening attentively. At the end of the Psalm "*Contra potentes*," an emperor is seen with sceptre and crown, sitting on a kind of triumphal car, but with the crescent instead of the cross on the imperial orb; the throne is drawn by a goat, which a cupid riding on a hobby-horse leads by the beard; on the left appears the archangel Michael vanquishing the dragon, and above is the Saviour in the act of benediction. Combats between knights and foot-soldiers illustrate the prayers in time of war. When the subject is temptation, friend Reynard plays the flute to the cocks and hens, who eagerly flutter round him.* Against the words, "The earth is the Lord's and all that therein is," an Indian warrior is introduced standing upon a spoon reversed. Unshaken trust in God amidst all earthly trials is depicted by a worthy man who has gently fallen asleep with a great book on his knees. At the "*Cantate domino canticum novum*," a party of village musicians are playing with all their might; and the hymn to the Virgin Mary, who stands praying, clad in a robe covered with ears of corn, is sung, like a serenade, by an angel-boy with a lute, whose foot rests daintily upon a creeping snail.† Under the "*Te Deum laudamus*," the Infant Christ, robed and in the act of blessing, is riding on a young ass, while a little angel spreads his garment in

* See the initial N at the beginning of the Preface, vol. i.

† See the initial A at the beginning of chapter xv.

the way. Finally, for the 'Jubilate,' two couples of rough peasants are dancing to the sound of pipes and the crowing of a cock.

The monogram and the date 1515, which are upon all these pages, are not genuine, and have been introduced later by a strange hand, sometimes in one place, sometimes in another. But, notwithstanding, there can be no doubt that that date is correct; the completion of the printing at the close of the preceding year, and the letters already referred to, are good proof of its being so. Further testimony is supplied by the book-plate which Dürer drew at the same time for his friend Lazarus Spengler. Spengler's arms, painted in body-colour, rest upon a skull, and are supported by a satyr, who is seated, and playing on Pan's pipes. On the right stands a nymph, holding a pair of scales and a goblet. The figures, the border, and several of the animals, are executed in violet ink upon parchment, exactly in the style of the Prayer-book marginal drawings. Below, in the middle, without the monogram, is the date 1515, genuine, and written with the same pen.*

Two sheets in the Esterhazy Collection, which now belongs to the National Museum at Pesth, are filled with a number of droll fancies and conceits in pen-and-ink, evidently intended as a continuation of the Prayer-book drawings. The slight pen-sketch of a sleeping woman in the Dresden Cabinet, had already been made use of. The orders of the Emperor probably followed one another so rapidly that the Prayer-book had to be laid aside. Dürer appears at first to have intended to carry on

* This small sheet, now much faded, is in the Albertina; it formerly belonged to Quandt. At the back can still be seen the marks of its having been stuck into a book-cover. See Zahn, *Archiv für Zeichn. Künste*, x. 286, *et seq.*, where however the accompanying engraving is far from being correct.

the work with the help of his pupils and apprentices, and one of them did accordingly execute drawings for eight of the pages—in Dürer's style, indeed, but with little of his genius and skill, and without any connection with the text. Most of them represent, in a reddish-brown ink, stags, roes, elks, and other wild animals of the chase, in landscapes; also a family of storks, and another of monkeys upon trees. Then there is a 'Coronation of the Virgin' in the clouds, with, underneath, the four Fathers of the Church, quaintly imagined, in a large car drawn by the symbols of the four Evangelists. Afterwards come witches riding a goat, and then a 'Man of Sorrows,' with cumbrous foliage ornamentation between them. Finally, there is an airy landscape without figures, sketched in two different colours. The appearance on these eight pages of Lucas Cranach's dragon, which was inserted, with the date 1515, by another hand at some subsequent period, need not deceive us; for there can be no doubt about the work being that of a Nuremberg master of Dürer's school.* Who that master was, however, is not so easy a matter to decide; though, for my own part, I am convinced it was no other than Hans Springinklee, who, according to Neudörffer, lived in Dürer's house.

Springinklee worked at the illustrations of the *Weisskuning*, at Burgkmair's series of the Saints belonging to the Imperial Family, and probably, under Dürer's supervision, at some other of Maximilian's undertakings. Dürer might therefore easily have been tempted to entrust him with the continuation of the marginal drawings in the Emperor's Prayer-book. No one, moreover, followed so faithfully in the footsteps of the master as Springinklee. He borrowed freely from Dürer both in his ornamentation

* See the lithographs in the work entitled *Des älteren Lucas Cranach Handzeichnungen; Ein Nachtrag*, &c. Munich, 1818.

and in his figures, as may be seen by examining his principal work in wood engraving, the graceful illustrations of the "*Hortulus Animae*," which was first printed by Johann Koburger in 1516, and ran through two new editions in the following year. Springinklee's figures, however, are always smaller and weaker than Dürer's; his draperies, too, are somewhat confused, and fall in over-heavy folds; while the ornament, with all its richness, lacks variety. There are other things, besides, in which Springinklee appears to have been occupied at this time in connection with Dürer. Closely allied to the Prayer-book drawings is Dürer's design for the fine woodcut, dated 1516, of 'Christ on the Cross between the Virgin and St. John,' with a richly decorated border, in which are four angels.* This cut first adorned the Eichstädt Missal, printed at Nuremberg by Hieronymus Hölzel in 1517, and afterwards Luther's Old Testament, published by Friedrich Peypus in 1524, which latter volume also contained a large woodcut by Springinklee, representing the creation of Adam. To this artist, too, evidently belongs the 'St. Wilibald,' a woodcut in the Eichstädt Missal, attributed to Dürer.† Besides these, there are only a few other woodcuts known to be Springinklee's, amongst them a series of the Apostles, executed from 1520 to 1521.‡ Springinklee also painted, and it is difficult to distinguish his paintings or drawings from the weaker works of Dürer.

The more Dürer was taken up with commissions from the Emperor, and his attention turned to wood engraving, the more he neglected painting. The weakest productions

* Bartsch, 56. Heller, 1633. *Kunstblatt* of 1845, p. 227.

† Passavant, 189. Heller, 2032. Retberg, A. 64.

‡ Bartsch, 52. They occur in the little book, *Die zwölf Artikel des christlichen Glaubens*, printed at Nuremberg by Leonhart Milchtaler in 1539.

of his brush are to be found between the years 1513 and 1520, and it is easy to understand that, in looking back at his previous masterpieces, doubts might naturally arise as to the authenticity of the few paintings which fall within that space of time. The best amongst them are the 'Lucretia' of 1518, and the portrait of Michel Wolgemut, of 1516; nor is there anything surprising in this, since the studies for both works were executed during the earlier period.* To these may be added the half-length picture of a middle-aged man without any beard, and with fair, smooth hair hanging down over his ears. The face is a little turned to the left, and has an energetic expression and a straight, fixed look. The chin is projecting, and the mouth large. The person represented wears a black cap and a close-fitting black robe, and appears to be an ecclesiastic. There is a genuine monogram, with the date 1516, in light-yellow upon the dark-green background. The flesh is of a brownish tint, modelled with grey shadows, and with the lights added, while a life-like aspect is given to the hair with just a few delicate lines. Not a trace of the old brilliancy of colouring! This portrait, almost life-size, is in the Gallery of Count Czernin, at Vienna.

A 'Virgin and Child,' the latter undraped, of 1518, in the Gallery of the Marchese Gino Capponi, at Florence, is unfortunately so thickly painted over that it is almost impossible to judge of the picture. The Virgin, half-length and almost life-size, in a red housewife's gown, and with flowing hair, is looking smilingly down on the Child, who,

* See p. 35, and vol. i. pp. 92–93. I cannot refrain from mentioning here that in the date 1516 upon Wolgemut's portrait at Munich, you can plainly see that an 0 originally stood in the place of the second 1. This is all the more striking, as the drawing for the picture in the Albertina is executed upon the Venetian paper, which Dürer used in the year 1506. But then at that time he was at Venice! I have hitherto been unable to obtain any satisfactory clue to the solution of this contradiction.

with open mouth, draws its shoulders together, as if it were cold. Only the left hand of the Child is to be seen, holding some fruit, which has now become brown. Underneath the worn-off paint on the Child's neck and shoulder Dürer's drawing can still be distinguished, as can also traces of the old fair golden colour under the Virgin's curling hair. Nothing remains but the pleasing attitude and the calm, happy expression of the mother. The background is black, with the genuine signature upon it in yellow. Dürer's careless painting during this period not only affected the appearance of his pictures at the time, but also their durability; and this makes it impossible to decide whether the original still exists of a painting which he certainly executed in the following year. It represented life-size, half-length figures of the Virgin, St. Anne, and the Infant Jesus, and is dated 1519. St. Anne, completely enveloped in white drapery, so that only her nose and somewhat staring eyes are seen, stands holding the sleeping Child, whom the Virgin looks at adoringly with downcast eyes. There are several copies of this painting. One of them, which was sold about 1850 by the Royal Gallery of Schleisheim to a Munich dealer, named Entres, and by him resold to some stranger, was much talked of at the time.* Whether it was identical with the copy in the Praun Cabinet at Nuremberg, engraved by Prestel, we do not know. The fact that connoisseurs like Waagen and Mündler have decided against the genuineness of the picture formerly at Schleisheim, in no way settles the question, because the decline of Dürer's style at this period had hitherto been unnoticed, and people

* See the discussion as to the genuineness of this picture between Waagen, who disputed it, and Herr Ernst Förster, who defended it, which appeared in the *Deutsches Kunstblatt* of 1854 (pp. 203, 251, 436 *et seq.*). According to what Otto Mündler told me the Entres picture was only a bad copy.

have been inclined to doubt the authenticity of all the somewhat unpleasing productions of his which belonged to it. According to an earlier description, found among his papers, Waagen at one time considered the picture as genuine, and supported this opinion by adding that "the colouring was like that of the 'Lucretia;'" but in a later marginal note he pronounces it to be a copy by Fischer. In the Berlin Museum there is an old tracing from the supposed original. The Albertina possesses a study for the head of St. Anne on a smaller scale, delicately executed in Indian ink, with a dark background, and the genuine date, 1519, upon a small piece of paper stuck on one of the corners.

The engravings of the Virgin, belonging to this period, are as unattractive as the paintings. The most agreeable among them, the 'Virgin crowned by two Angels,' of 1518,* is taken from older studies; at least the beautiful drawing for the drapery on her knees, in the Albertina, belongs to the year 1508. It is upon a green ground, and executed with the brush with the same care as the contemporary studies for the 'Assumption.' The 'Virgin crowned by one Angel,' † of 1520, is, on the contrary, stiff and spiritless. The larger 'Virgin giving the Breast,' of 1519,‡ and the similarly treated 'Virgin with the Infant in swaddling clothes,' § of the following year, are without any particular charm or dignity, being taken quite casually from burgher life, and are only remarkable for the soft grey tone of the engraving. There is something far more attractive in the 'St. Antony,' of 1519, sitting in pious contemplation before the walls of Nuremberg.‖ For depth of conception, and tenderness of execution and feeling,

* Bartsch, 39. † Bartsch, 37. ‡ Bartsch, 36. § Bartsch, 38. ‖ Bartsch, 58. With regard to the study for the background, of nearly twenty years before, see vol. i. p. 278.

this small plate is equal to the best engravings of former years. Dürer never did anything again equal to it. The faithful, strict adherence to truth, which is the distinguishing mark of these compositions, can be best appreciated in a genre subject like the 'Peasants going to Market,' of 1519.* The peasant and his wife, offering their eggs and chickens for sale, are delightful types of that rustic simplicity and caustic humour which were afterwards to play so large a part in the German-Flemish paintings.

The unfavourable impression produced by Dürer's pictures and engravings of the Virgin belonging to this period, does not arise from any diminution of feeling on his part, but rather from a certain haste and impatience which made it irksome to him to devote the time and attention required by a minute technique. Through continually drawing for engravings on wood, he had become accustomed to a broader touch and more rapid progress. The delicate conceptions of the imagination vanished under a long and wearisome method of execution. But how powerfully they prevailed in the first rough sketches is proved by various drawings representing the Virgin, done at this period; take, for instance, the large pen-drawing of 1519, at Windsor Castle, representing the Virgin sitting in a landscape, with an angel at her feet playing the violin and singing. Indeed, the most charming composition of this kind among Dürer's wood engravings belongs to the year 1518. It is the Virgin adored by a number of angels.† The Holy Child, standing upon a cushion, with His arm round His mother's neck, is enjoying the playful movements of the little angels at her feet; large angels, in ample draperies, are humbly offering Him grapes, or playing on musical instruments, while two others, floating above, hold a large crown, and above

* Bartsch, 89. † Bartsch, 101.

them again are seraphim. This rich and graceful composition shows with what an outburst of sentiment Dürer was still capable of treating the most charming subjects. Wood engraving was just then his element, and the preliminary drawings for the cuts had become, through the extensive orders of the Emperor, the readiest channel for the expression of his artistic ideas.

What Dürer, as well as the Emperor, most set his heart upon, was the success of 'The Triumph,' that great work in wood engraving which Maximilian was anxious to publish in his own honour, and of which the 'Triumphal Arch' was only the half. The other half represents the Imperial Triumphal Procession, or, as it was wrongly called from the central and principal subject, the 'Triumphal Car' (*Triumphwagen*). The original idea was probably borrowed from Mantegna's engravings of the triumphal processions of the Cæsars. Dürer was not the only master to whom the task of carrying it out was confided. Several others were employed, and among them Hans Burgkmair, to whom sixty-six of the completed woodcuts belong.* As early as 1512, the Emperor, through his secretary, Marx Treytz-Saurwein, had drawn up the entire programme for the procession. In a letter of September 30th, 1513, to the authorities at Innsbruck, Maximilian desires that "the book of his Imperial Majesty's triumphal car" should be forwarded to him by the post to Oudenarde, as soon as Treytz-Saurwein should send it. But this document had already, on the 4th of July, been received by the authorities from his private secretary and transferred to the post.† It was doubtless the scheme, in writing, for the

* For further particulars see my treatise *Dürers Triumphwagen und sein Antheil am Triumphzuge Kaiser Maximilians I.* in the *Mittheilungen der K. K. Central Comm.*, Vienna, xiii. 135 *et seq.*

† D. Schönherr, *Ueber Marx Treytz-Saurwein*, in the *Archiv für österr. Geschichte*, xlviii. 368.

'Triumphal Procession,' which the Emperor corrected with his own hand.* He first ordered the whole of it to be painted in miniature on large sheets of parchment, and a perfect specimen of this splendid and colossal work still exists in good preservation in the Imperial Library at Vienna,† where also there is a second very similar but imperfect and damaged copy, lately purchased from the Monastery of St. Florian, in Upper Austria. These parchment paintings were not done by any eminent artists, but by so-called miniaturists or illuminators. They are unequal and somewhat deficient in drawing, depending for their effect more upon brilliancy of colouring and minuteness of finish. Possibly they may have been based upon some slight sketches by good masters, to which, however, the illuminators only adhered slightly; so at least it would appear from an examination of the centre-piece, properly so called, of the 'Triumphal Procession.' The directions for it, drawn up in 1512, are as follow:—

"THE EMPEROR'S TRIUMPHAL CAR.

"Item. Then shall follow the Emperor's triumphal car, which shall be most richly fashioned. And on this same triumphal car shall be seated the Emperor in his imperial robes and majesty; also with him, according to the prescribed etiquette, there shall be his first wife, King Philip and his wife and the Lady Margaret, and King Philip's children; and Duke Charles is to wear a crown. And the triumphal procession shall be drawn by well-caparisoned horses, as befits an Imperial Car of Triumph."

From this description Dürer drew a slight pen-sketch, which is now in the Albertina, and of which we give a wood-cut on a somewhat smaller scale. Although the date on the car is scratched out, the drawing belongs without doubt to the years 1514–1515. On one side of the Emperor sits Mary of Burgundy, the never-to-be-forgotten consort of his youth, beside whom his second wife, Bianca Sforza, of Milan,

* It was published in 1780 by Murr in his *Journal*, ix.; and by Bartsch in his edition of the 'Triumphal Procession,' in 1796.

† Compare Bartsch, *Peintre-Graveur*, vii. 230.

was systematically ignored; in front of him is King Philip the Fair, between his sister (Margaret) and wife (Jeanne la Folle); in front of these, again, are Philip's two sons, the Archdukes and future Emperors Charles and Ferdinand; and lastly, next to the horses, their four sisters. Of the prancing steeds only two pair are visible; each horse bears a rider crowned with a wreath.

The miniature only adheres to this hasty sketch of Dürer's in a general way. It represents the imperial car covered with gold and precious stones; and Maximilian sits alone under the rich canopy, while in front of him, on an extra seat, are his wife and his daughter Margaret; the Archduke Charles, too, is correctly given a crown instead of the archducal cap. When it became a question of transferring the 'Triumphal Procession' to the wood-block, as a pendant to the 'Triumphal Arch,' recourse was again had to Dürer, and this time Wilibald Pirkheimer assisted him with his learned advice. From a correspondence which took place between the Emperor and Pirkheimer during the year 1518, we are able to gather exact information as to the further manner in which it was proposed to decorate the 'Triumphal Car.'* On February 5th of that year, Maximilian writes to Pirkheimer from Augsburg to acknowledge the receipt of the "laurel crown (*Laurea*) belonging to our Triumph," which Pirkheimer had sent him a few days before. He is not a little pleased with it, because "our said Triumph will be greatly embellished by it." What we are to understand by this laurel crown, which the Emperor again thankfully acknowledges as Pirkheimer's "new invention and adornment for

* These letters have been printed. See *Pirkheimeri Opera*, ed. Goldast, Nuremberg, 1610, p. 2; and *Pirkheimers Tugendbüchlein von Hans Imhoff*, Nuremberg, 1606, p. 162 (in the German rendering pp. 169 and 240). See also Thausing, *Die 'Laurea' zum Triumphzuge Kaiser Maximilians I.*; and *Die beiden Briefe Maximilians I. an Pirkheimer nach den Originalen neu mitgetheilt*, in the *Jahrbücher für Kunstwiss. II.*, 175 and 181.

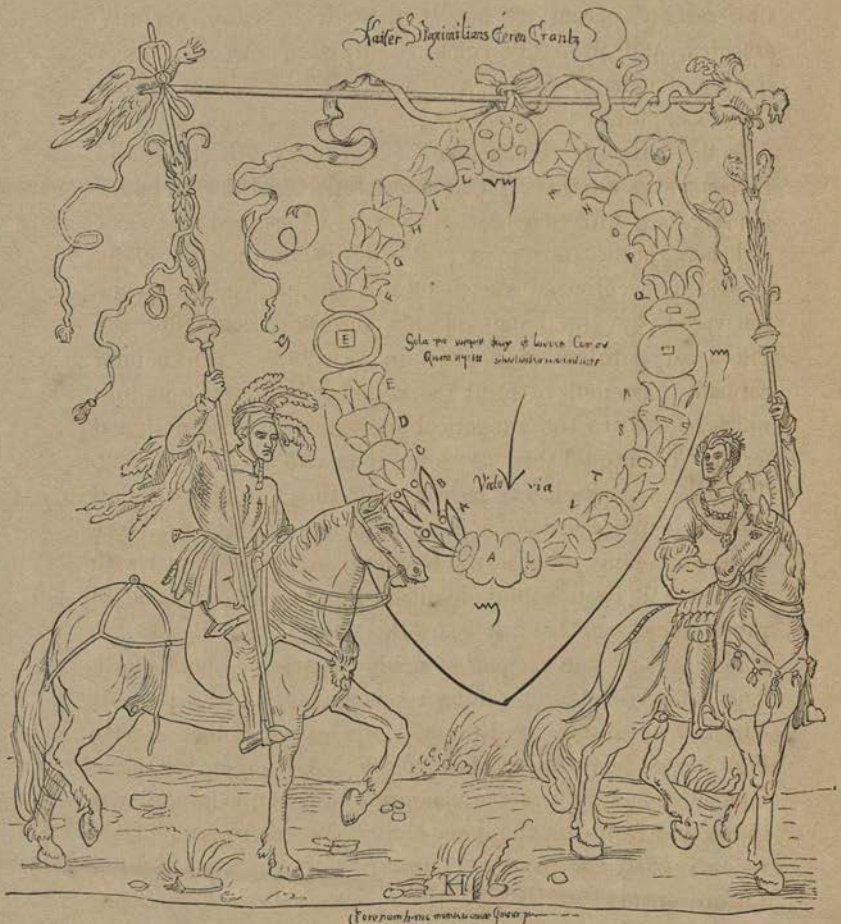
the work which we have lately taken in hand," is explained by a large pen-drawing of Hans von Kulmbach's, in the Print Room at Berlin. It bears the inscription, '*Kaiser Maximilians Eeren Crantz*'—'The Emperor Maximilian's Crown of Honour.' Two horsemen, of the same size as those in the 'Triumphal Procession,' bear each a long decorated wand, united at the top by a cross-bar, from the middle of which hangs a gigantic laurel-wreath. The gold ornaments and precious stones of which the wreath is formed, are mounted on triplets of laurel-leaves, each of which is inscribed with the name of a good quality or virtue in alphabetical order, the first triplet having those beginning with A—as *Audacia, Abstinentia,* &c. In the middle of the wreath is the distich:

"Sola tuo capiti digna est hec laurea Caesar,
Quam triplici virtus stemmate condecorat."

Underneath can be read the word "*Victoria,*" and quite at the bottom, on the margin, is Pirkheimer's dedication.*

What gives an especial importance to this drawing, is not the subtle devices and conceits introduced into it by Pirkheimer, but the information it affords as to Dürer's share in the 'Triumphal Procession,' and the way in which these Imperial commissions were generally managed. It also shows that there were relations existing between Kulmbach and Dürer in 1518. The sketch has so much in common with Dürer's style, that it was ascribed to him, although Kulmbach's monogram is plainly marked upon it. The parts with which Dürer really might be credited are the Roman characters on the four principal links of the wreath, the elongated leaves below on the left, the arrow, and the two long vigorous strokes, which indicate

* "Coronam hanc munitissimus Caesar plantauit, virtus rigauit, Deuotus Bilibaldus Pirckheymer dedicauit." For the drawing, see next page.



THE EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN'S CROWN OF HONOUR.
(From the Pen Drawing by Hans v. Kulmbach in the Berlin Museum.)

that the whole wreath was to be enlarged, and made to hang lower down. It is only the first sketch, from which, after certain corrections had been made, a more carefully executed, and probably coloured, drawing was done as a specimen for the Emperor; so at least we may conclude from other examples of the same kind.

In the letter to Pirkheimer of February 5th, 1518, the Emperor says further: "Our counsellor, the Prior Melchior Pfinzing, has informed us that thou hast designed a new car of honour, unlike any other. We desire of thee, therefore, to send us a coloured sketch of this car, with all diligence and speed, by the hands of our aforesaid counsellor the Prior, and nothing to neglect in this," &c. Pirkheimer naturally hastened to fulfil the commands of the Emperor, which referred to the allegorical adornment he had designed for the 'Triumphal Car,' as we see it in the woodcut of 1522. The drawing, which was prepared for the Emperor with all haste in Dürer's studio, is in the Albertina.* It is a large sketch, the same size as the woodcut, broadly outlined with the pen, and then coloured, and is done upon four sheets of paper stuck together: it bears the date 1518. Beside the golden car and the six pair of richly caparisoned horses walk female figures clad in white, representing all the possible Virtues.† "*Ratio*" ("Reason") sits as charioteer upon a high, sloped seat, ending in a volute. A long, curved, ornamented stem supports the canopy, which is quadrangular in shape, and bears on the lower border the inscription, "*Quod in coelis (Sol) hoc in terra (Caesar),*" only the words *Sol* and *Caesar*, instead of being written, are expressed by representations of the sun and the double eagle; a plan which was adopted in other places, as Pirkheimer minutely explains

* It has been lithographed by J. Pilizotti in L. Förster's *Sammlung von Copien aus der Albertina.*

† See p. 167.

to the Emperor in the description which accompanied the design. The Emperor sits in the car with all his family, arranged in five stages, exactly the same as in the miniatures. Thus the drawing of 1518 forms the transition between Dürer's sketch and the miniatures on the one hand, and the woodcuts of 1522 on the other.

Pirkheimer sent this design for the car to the Emperor, with the very necessary explanation or description of it which was afterwards appended to the woodcut. He apologises for the delay in its transmission; "which has been caused by the time it has taken to arrange so many Virtues in their proper order; and had not your Imperial Majesty's servant Albert Dürer shown so much diligence, and worked at the thing himself, it would have been much more difficult for me, and would have been still longer delayed. I notify this to your Majesty, that you may be acquainted with the cause of the delay, and with Albert Dürer's assiduous industry." The dilatoriness however cannot have been very great, for, as early as March 29th, 1518, the Emperor informs Pirkheimer from Innsbruck of the receipt of the design. "We have received the 'Triumphal Car,' together with the explanation, which you have prepared for our satisfaction, and for the worthy completion of our 'Triumph,' and which you have sent by the bearer of this letter." Then follows the announcement that he will shortly employ Pirkheimer upon a new undertaking: but not a word of Dürer's meritorious share in the work, in spite of Pirkheimer's praise!

In any case it is certain from this, that the Emperor 'Maximilian's Triumphal Car' was to form a part, indeed the very centre, of the 'Triumphal Procession.' Dürer's share in the latter great work, which has been attributed since Bartsch to Burgkmair alone, is thus proved beyond question. It only remains to distinguish his work in the numerous other woodcuts completed during the Emperor's

lifetime. Maximilian, in his letter of February 5th, 1518, speaks of "other cars," unlike the newly designed one, and consequently presupposes Pirkheimer's acquaintance with them. And, in truth, all the cars and machines which represent battle-scenes, or public events, or trophies, in the 'Triumphal Procession,' are of Dürer's designing. Among them may be mentioned the 'Spanish Marriage,'* with figures borrowed from the 'Triumphal Arch;' and the 'Burgundian Marriage,'† a car with the magnificent team of Victory, sometimes also called the 'Little Triumphal Car.'‡ The royal couple on horseback, the princess on horseback with her suite, and the sepulchral effigies, five blocks, on which are represented the figures of Maximilian's ancestors, are also Dürer's. Among these last is a reduced replica of the saintly Margrave Leopold, as he appears in the 'Triumphal Arch.' There are altogether in 'Maximilian's Triumphal Procession' twenty-four woodcuts, which must be classed among Dürer's works.

Those of which he is the author can be at once distinguished from the rest by the broad treatment of the subject; the other masters, and especially Burgkmair, adhering scrupulously, both in the details as well as in the composition of the various groups, to the prescribed programme, and the model furnished by the miniatures. To such restraints Dürer would not submit, and his cuts are those which differ most widely both from the directions and

* The marriage of Philippe le Beau and Jeanne la Folle.

† The marriage of Maximilian I. with Mary of Burgundy, daughter of Charles the Bold.

‡ The first of these two pieces, the Burgundian marriage, is very rare. For further and more detailed particulars see my Essay in the *Mittheilungen der K. K. Central Commission*, vol. xiii. (1868), p. 135 *et seq.* According to the arrangement of the numbers in the last edition of the 'Triumphal Procession,' published by Bartsch at Vienna in 1796, the following cuts are Dürer's: Nos. 89–103; No. 135 and the lost cut of the 'Burgundian Wedding' belonging to it; Nos. 130 and 131, and 104–108.

the miniatures, so much so that the subject is often no longer recognisable. He felt strongly that the simple woodcut needs very different treatment from that required in a miniature laden with colours and gold. The battles and historical scenes, which are there painted on large square surfaces, and which two or more horsemen hold up on poles like banners at a fair, would have appeared very monotonous if reproduced in a similar style in the woodcut. But Dürer knew how to obtain scope for displaying his artistic qualities, by adopting the most varied combinations, and by having recourse to the most audacious mechanical devices; and at the same time that he transformed an uncongenial subject, he likewise in its execution gave free course to his imagination, and added a profusion of figures and ornaments. Such designs as the 'Venice Mourning,' which recalls the copper engraving, 'Melancholia,' of 1514, and the 'Woman standing and nursing Two Children,' may be numbered among the noblest productions of German art. The gigantic soldiers, standing in different attitudes amongst the chariots and machines, represent to perfection the type of the period —a type of which strength is the prevailing characteristic; while the numerous horses have in their movements a finish, an ease, a look of life, and a harmony, such as is rarely met with in a simple drawing.

The woodcuts which form Dürer's share in the 'Triumphal Procession' were, as was only natural, nearly all engraved by Nuremberg artists, who were also employed here and there on other parts of the work: by, for instance, Hans Franckh, Wolfgang Resch, and more especially Hieronymus Andreæ, to whom, it may be noted, belongs the so-called 'Small Triumphal Car,' in which occurs the magnificent team of Victory.* The Emperor's agent at Nuremberg in the whole

* Neudörffer (*Nachrichten*, 47) relates that the Emperor came to Nuremberg while Hieronymus "was at work upon Dürer's 'Triumphal Car,'

matter was the Prior Melchior Pfinzing. He took care that no premature impressions were taken, and sold to the public, from the blocks done for the Emperor. It happened nevertheless that, in the year 1518, a servant of Pfinzing's, on the information of a wood engraver, warned the Council, "that some impressions of parts of his Imperial Majesty's 'Triumph' had been openly offered for sale by a pedlar in front of the city during a church festival." The pedlar was immediately arrested and the prints taken from him, and he was questioned as to how he obtained them. He replied that he had bought them in the pig-market, of a scribe who was unknown to him, and who had promised to bring him others. On July 27th, a communication was addressed to Pfinzing, in the name of the Elteren Herren, begging him to pacify the Emperor, and promising that the guilty person should be discovered and punished in an exemplary manner.*

On the death of the Emperor Maximilian, which took place January 12th, 1519, his artistic enterprises naturally came to a standstill. The 'Triumphal Procession,' among others, remained unfinished. There exist in the Albertina some of Dürer's drawings for it which were never engraved, and which enable us to gain some insight into the working of his studio. They are six sketches of horsemen, all dated 1518. One of them represents the figure of a senator, crowned with laurel, and attired in a long, fur-edged, brocade

belonging to his Imperial Majesty." The writer probably intended to refer to the 'Triumphal Procession' generally, and not to the 'Triumphal Car' properly so-called, which was not engraved till after Maximilian's death. "During his stay," Neudörffer adds, "His Majesty went almost daily to the Frauengässlein to see the artist's excellent work," a circumstance which gave rise to a popular story. This often repeated anecdote is spoiled however by the fact, which is well authenticated, that the Emperor Maximilian never visited Nuremberg after the year 1512. The official Itinerary of the Emperor Maximilian I. about to be published at Vienna by Prof. Victor v. Kraus, proves this, and certainly Hieronymus was not doing anything for him in 1512.

* *Missivbuch des Rathes im königlichen Archiv zu Nürnberg*; Baader, *Beiträge* ii. 37.

ONE OF THE HORSEMEN IN THE TRIUMPHAL PROCESSION OF MAXIMILIAN I.
(*From the Pen Drawing in the Albertina at Vienna.*)

cloak; another a youth, whose plumed cap hangs suspended over his shoulders.* Each carries a wreathed tablet at the end of a long staff; the four other horsemen, who are on a rather larger scale, also carry trophies, each with an inscription in Dürer's hand: "*dy frantzosisch—dy welsch —dy pemisch—dy vngrisch troffea;*"† "the French—the Italian—the Bohemian—the Hungarian trophy." These drawings are sketched with inconceivable lightness with the pen, in Indian ink, each on a separate sheet. They were found among Dürer's papers, and are, doubtless, his first ideas for the figures. Exact replicas of the four horsemen last referred to exist in the Ambras Collection, only that they are on a smaller scale, similar to the other parts of the Procession, and though more carefully finished, and painted over in water-colours, are much less spirited: they were probably sent to the Emperor to be submitted for his approval.

Certain of the wood-blocks belonging to 'The Triumph,' remained in the engraver's hands unfinished or unpaid for. Hieronymus Andreæ, the skilled artist whom Dürer generally employed, had several of those for the 'Triumphal Arch,' which he refused to give up unless he was paid for them. Amongst them, no doubt, were the historical subjects intended for the twenty-four compartments over the two side gateways, from which Hieronymus took some impressions, and sold them at Nuremberg, in order to satisfy his wants, and indemnify himself for his outlay.‡

* See the accompanying woodcut, which is on a smaller scale than the original drawing.

† *Dürers Reiterskizzen zum Triumphzuge*, &c., with text by M. Thausing; published by the Photographic Society of Vienna in 1872. Our woodcut is taken from this work.

‡ See H. Glax, *Ueber die vier Ausgaben der geschichtlichen Vorstellungen der Ehrenpforte*, &c., in the *Quellen und Forschungen zur vaterländischen Geschichte*, 1849, Vienna, p. 259 *et seq.*

King Ferdinand, who had at heart the completion of the memorial planned by his imperial grandfather, forwarded a request from Augsburg, March 6th, 1526, to the Council of Nuremberg, that the wood engraver should, on payment to him being guaranteed, be required to give up "the said blocks, and all other blocks besides, belonging to the Emperor Maximilian." He has, the King adds, charged his Chancellor for Lower Austria, Marx Treytz-Saurwein, with the task of superintending the completion of the work, and the blocks are to be sent to him to Vienna, with all due care and without delay.* The Council accordingly summoned the wood engraver on March 28th, 1526, and reported the result of their examination of him to the Chancellor. It was true that the burgher Hieronymus had some finished blocks in his possession belonging to the late Emperor 'Maximilian's Triumph' and 'Triumphal Arch;' but the Council is also aware "how often he has complained to them of the delay in paying him for the work he had done, and of the expense he had been put to, and how frequently he has sought redress and assistance from them." The Council warmly espouse the cause of their fellow-citizen, in spite of his habitual wilfulness. Hieronymus is "a particularly clever artist, and the most celebrated in the empire at the kind of work upon which he has been employed by the Emperor and his representatives. Other artists of Nuremberg, who know all about the 'Triumphal Arch,' and have had a chief share in its execution" (this is evidently intended to apply to Dürer) "have reported to the Council con-

* The original letter in the Royal Archives at Nuremberg begins, "We have learnt that the engraver Hieronymus, who lives at Nuremberg, has with him some wood blocks belonging to the 'Triumphal Arch,' and that in the event of his work not being paid for, he intends to keep them as an equivalent." An extract from this letter, and also the reply sent to Treytz-Saurwein, taken from the Council Papers, is to be found in Baader, *Beiträge* ii. 37.

fidentially, and without the knowledge of Hieronymus, that if the Archduke wished to bring the work to a successful conclusion, he would hardly be able to do so without the aid and co-operation of the said Hieronymus; a view of the case which time and experience will prove to be correct. The Council doubts not that the Chancellor will favourably entertain all just claims made both by Hieronymus and by the other artists who have been really engaged on this work. Hieronymus is willing to give up the blocks to the Chancellor, provided that his wages, and the money which he has laid out, be previously secured to him. Finally, the Council begs the Chancellor for a favourable decision, not only for the sake of Hieronymus, but in order that the work may be brought to a speedy conclusion."

It appears from this, that not even the blocks of the 'Triumphal Arch' were ready at Maximilian's death. Anyhow, the exertions of King Ferdinand and his Chancellor were successful. Not only was the 'Triumphal Arch' finished, but all the blocks done for it, as well as for the 'Triumphal Procession,' came into the imperial keeping. They have suffered little, and are still preserved in the Imperial Library at Vienna.

Dürer had taken more trouble than had his engraver to secure the protection of the Emperor for his own interests. His presence at Augsburg during the memorable Diet of 1518, gave him a favourable opportunity of doing so. The Nurembergers were proud of the fact that their master stood so high in the imperial favour, and they showed their appreciation of it by sending Dürer with the two representatives of the city to the Diet. So it would appear, at least, from the letter full of fun which Wilibald Pirkheimer's learned sister, Charitas, Abbess of St. Clara's, addressed to all three in common: "To the prudent and wise Masters Caspar Nützel, Lazarus Spengler, and Albert Dürer, now at Augsburg, our

gracious masters and good friends." Maximilian was at this time, as we have seen, more zealously occupied than ever with his artistic undertakings. Personal intercourse with Dürer must, therefore, have been very agreeable to him. On June 28th he had his portrait done. It is a clever charcoal sketch, rather less than life-size, and is now in the Albertina. Though distinctly showing signs of great haste, still the few black lines of which it is composed give a most life-like presentment. The proud, nobly-turned head, the strongly arched nose, the laughing eyes, looking slightly down, the flat-shaped hat, and the large damask pattern upon the collar of the robe, are all admirably rendered.* Dürer wrote himself at the top in ink: "This is the Emperor Maximilian, whom I, Albert Dürer, drew at Augsburg, in his little room upstairs in the palace, in the year 1518, on the Monday after St. John the Baptist's day."

It is from this drawing that the two engraved busts of Maximilian of the same size were done. In one of these woodcuts there is nothing but a scroll at the top, with the following inscription in two lines: "*Imperator Caesar Divus Maximilianus Pius Felix Augustus.*"† In the other the likeness is richly framed, between two ornamented columns, on the capitals of which are griffins holding the imperial escutcheon, enclosed within the Collar of the Golden Fleece. The inscription underneath shows it to be a posthumous memorial of the Emperor: "The dear Prince and Emperor Maximilian happily departed this life on the XII day of January, in the LIX year of his age, Anno Domini 1519." ‡ The oil-

* It has been lithographed by Krammer in L. Förster's *Sammlung von Copien aus der Albertina*. No attention need be paid to the white and red chalk with which the drawing has been subsequently smeared over. The annexed woodcut is reduced from the original drawing.

† This portrait was engraved on wood twice. In the better of the two examples the initial letter of the word Cæsar encloses the two following letters. Bartsch, 154; Retberg, 231.

‡ Bartsch, 153.

PORTRAIT OF THE EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN I.

(From the Charcoal Drawing in the Albertina at Vienna.)

To face p. 150, Vol. II.

painting of the Emperor in the Imperial Gallery at Vienna, was also painted in 1519 from the same sketch. It is a half-length, with grey hair, and holding in the left hand a pomegranate—Maximilian's own chosen emblem of plenty. He wears a crimson cloak with a sable collar, and a black velvet hat, on the rim of which is, as in the woodcut, a medallion, containing an image of the Virgin. Upon the dark-green background there is a long inscription in Dürer's Renaissance capitals, ending with the touching words, "O that God Almighty would bring him back among the number of the living!"* This picture is tolerably well preserved: the colouring must originally have been dark and dead; the brown shadows have run and are cracked, and have been re-touched in places.

It was probably at Augsburg, and on this occasion, that the Emperor endeavoured to sketch some design which he wanted Dürer to execute. Whilst doing so the charcoal broke short off in his hand several times, upon which Dürer took it and rapidly finished the drawing. Maximilian then asked him, how it was that the charcoal did not break with him; and Dürer replied smilingly: "Most gracious Emperor, I would not that your Majesty should draw so well as I do!" By which he meant to say, according to Melanchthon, to whom we are indebted for the record of the incident: "I am practised in this, and it is my province; thou, Emperor, hast harder tasks, and another calling!"†

* "Potentissimus maximus et invictissimus Caesar Maximilianus qui cunctos sui temporis reges et principes justitia prudentia magnanimitate liberalitate praecipue vero bellica laude et animi fortitudine superavit natus anno salutis humanae MCCCCLIX die Marcii IX. vixit annos LIX menses IX dies XXV decessit vero anno MDXIX mensis Januarii die XII. quem deus opt. max. in numerum viventium referre velit." Below are the date, 1519, and the genuine monogram. In the corner above on the left is the imperial eagle in gold with the Austrian shield, surrounded by the Golden Fleece. There is a copy in water-colours of this picture in the Germanic Museum at Nuremberg, in which the cloak is red: and another in oils in the Town Hall of that city.

† "Juxta illud commune prover-

Another celebrated portrait belongs to the period of the Diet at Augsburg, viz., the bust of the youthful Cardinal Albert of Brandenburg, Primate and Elector of the Empire, Archbishop of Mayence and Magdeburg; born 1490, died 1545. The copper engraving called the 'Little Cardinal'* bears, it is true, the date of 1519, but it was begun in 1518. The first study for it, taken from life, is in the Albertina. It is broadly sketched in charcoal, and represents the Cardinal, three-quarters the size of life, turned to the left, and attired in baretta and cope: it was doubtless done at the time of the Diet. From this sketch Dürer afterwards made a careful pen-drawing, reduced in size for the engraving; it is the reverse way of the plate, and the inscription, of course, also appears reversed. Very likely he worked at it under the eyes of his employer, as the drawing—now in the Kunsthalle at Bremen—still bears the date MDXVIII. added to the inscription, whilst above there is also written in Dürer's usual hand, "1519, the Archbishop of Mayence." The careful preparatory work bestowed upon this small masterpiece, justifies the high reputation which the 'Little Cardinal' has always enjoyed amongst connoisseurs. In these two likenesses of the Emperor and the Chancellor-Primate, the temporal and spiritual chiefs of the nation, we see Dürer at the height of his talent as a portrait painter, and exhibiting, indeed, the utmost perfection of which the art of portrait painting is capable.

Dürer himself reported the completion of the 'Little Cardinal' in his letter to Spalatin at the beginning of the year 1520: "I send herewith at the same time to my most gracious Lord (the Elector Frederick of Saxony), three impressions of an engraving which I have done of my most

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bium: Aliud est sceptrum, aliud plectrum," adds Melanchthon. Manlius, *Loc. comm. coll.*, Bas. 1563, ii. 47. Strobel, *Misc. lit. Inh.* vi. 211.

* Bartsch, 102.

gracious Highness of Mayence, at his own desire. I have had the honour to send to his Electoral Grace the plate, and 200 impressions, in return for which his Electoral Grace has shown me great kindness, having given me 200 florins in gold, and twenty ells of damask for a coat. I received this gift with all the more joy and thankfulness, as I was at the time in great need of it." * Dürer's engraving was afterwards used as the frontispiece of the reliquary-book of the Cathedral Church of St. Maurice and St. Mary Magdalene at Halle, printed in 1510: hence good old impressions of it often bear on the reverse side the title of this splendid work, which is now exceedingly rare.† The numerous and excellent woodcuts in the book, representing the richly mounted and magnificent relics of the Cathedral, have nothing to do with Dürer.

In the year 1523, Dürer engraved another portrait of the Elector Albert, this time in profile, and rather larger than the other. From this latter circumstance it was called the 'Great Cardinal.' ‡ The drawing for it was probably done by Dürer, either on his journey to the Netherlands or at Nuremberg during the Diet of 1522–23. It is exactly the same size as the engraving, very carefully executed in reverse with the silver-point upon white prepared paper, and is now at Paris in the Louvre. § Here, however, the head of the Cardinal is turned to the left, and is not covered with a baretta, but shows a large tonsure. From Dürer's letter to

* *Dürers Briefe*, p. 43. See Heller, p. 508 *et seq.*, for the most exact description of this engraving, the inscription on which is borrowed from the well-known line of Virgil, "Sic oculos," &c.

† The book contains a description of the treasures belonging to the church, accompanied by illustrations. Its title is: *Vortzeichniss und Zeigung des hochlob wirdigen Heiligthumbs der Stifftkirchen der heiligen St. Moritz und Marien Magdalenen zu Halle*, Halle, 1520. It consists of 118 4to pages, with an engraving on copper and 223 vignettes on wood. (Brunet, v. p. 1372.)

‡ Bartsch, 103.

§ F. Reiset, *Catalogue* No. 500: 'Portrait de moine.'

the Cardinal of September 4th, 1523, we learn that he sent him the plate with 500 impressions.* Dürer at the same time mentions a costly Missal, for which the Elector had ordered miniatures from the Nuremberg illuminator, Nicolaus Glockenton.

While at Augsburg Dürer also found an opportunity of entering into relations with Cardinal Matthæus Lang von Wellenburg, then Coadjutor and afterwards, in 1519, Archbishop of Salzburg, and securing his patronage. Lang belonged to an Augsburg family of some importance, and was for a long time private secretary to the Emperors Frederick III. and Maximilian I. He was a patron of the arts and sciences, and knew Dürer from the maps of the world and of the heavens, which, as may be remembered, Stabius had dedicated to the Cardinal. Some drawings in the British Museum show that Dürer received commissions from him. Among them may be cited a figure of Christ bearing the Cross; and, as a pendant to it, that of a man in the same attitude in a framework of twining vine-tendrils, with Latin sentences from the 'Imitation of Christ.' On the second of these drawings appear the arms of Cardinal Lang.† They are in pen-and-ink upon parchment, and in the style of the drawings in Maximilian's Prayer-book. In another pen-drawing ‡ are the same arms on a brown background, surrounded by eight charming little angels; this was intended no doubt as a decoration for the upper part of a gateway. We further learn from a few lines of Dürer's to Wolf Stromer, that Cardinal Lang once sent one of his glass painters to Nuremberg, for the purpose of buying materials, with a letter of introduction to the master.§

* *Dürers Briefe*, 47.

† Nos. 149 and 150 in the collection. Waagen, *Treasures of Art*, i. 231. Mrs. Heaton, *Life of Albrecht Dürer*, p. 234, with illustration.

‡ No. 177. Hausmann, No. 153.

§ *Dürers Briefe*, Introduction xi. and p. 45.

Dürer certainly carried on active intercourse with Conrad Peutinger, the learned collector of antiquities and town-clerk of Augsburg. Peutinger was a confidential adviser of the Emperor Maximilian in his artistic undertakings, and procured commissions for the Augsburg artists, as Pirkheimer and Melchior Pfinzing did for those of Nuremberg. Unfortunately we have no information with regard to the relations between them further than the torn fragment of a letter in which Peutinger calls Dürer "My good friend Dürer."* Many pleasant days may consequently have been spent by Dürer in the course of his several months' residence at Augsburg during the Diet. At all events the merry letter which Charitas Pirkheimer addressed to him and Nützel and Spengler on September 3rd, 1518, would seem to be the echo of one which she had received in the same strain from the three friends. She had, she writes, received their letter containing news so suited to her position (this no doubt is meant ironically) with particular pleasure, and read it with such rapt attention that the tears had come into her eyes more than once (no doubt rather from laughter than emotion). "I am very grateful," she continues, "that your worships, in the midst of such important occupations and so much gaiety, have not forgotten a poor little nun like me, and have taken so much pains to instruct me in the duties of a conventual life, of which you must have an exact likeness before your eyes." After giving free play to her sparkling wit, she concludes: "Pardon me, my dear, kind sirs, for this joking letter. It is all *in caritate*" (a play upon her name); "*summa summarum*, the end of it is, that I trust you will successfully accomplish the matters entrusted to you, and soon come back, happy and in good health."

* Th. Herberger, *Conrad Peutinger in seinem Verhältnisse zum Kaiser Maximilian I.*, Augsburg, 1851, p. 27.

Soon after the receipt of this letter, Dürer appears to have left Augsburg. Luther, who only came to the Diet in October, in order to hold a conference with Cardinal Cajetan, did not see him. The Emperor Maximilian had also gone away before. But he had not allowed his painter to depart empty-handed. Ready money, to be sure, was seldom at the disposal of "the last of the knights." But at Martinmas of the following year, 1519, he would be able to dispose of a still unmortgaged balance of 200 Rhenish florins from the Nuremberg taxes; and this Dürer was to have, independently of his regular yearly pension. In a despatch from Augsburg, dated September 8th, 1518, the Emperor communicated his intention to the Burgomaster and Council of Nuremberg, and commanded them solemnly "to deliver up, and pay these 200 florins to Albert Dürer, our painter, so dear and faithful to our person and empire, in consideration of the zealous and ready services rendered by him in designing, by our order, our 'Triumphal Car,' as well as in other matters, and to receive our receipt for them." *

Dürer brought home this receipt stamped with the imperial seal. But when the Emperor Maximilian died suddenly on January 12th, 1519, well-grounded doubts arose in his mind as to the safety of his new claims. He accordingly determined to advance them at once, without waiting till they were due; and in a letter of April 27th, 1519, asked the Council for payment of the 200 florins, the promise of which "he had obtained at the Diet lately held, not without considerable effort and trouble, from his Imperial and Roman Majesty, our most gracious Lord, of much revered memory." † In consideration, however, of the change of circumstances, and in case the future Emperor or

* *Dürers Briefe*, p. 170. † *Dürers Briefe*, p. 40.

King should not acknowledge his claim, Dürer offered to mortgage his paternal mansion in the Unter der Vesten (which he had only gained full possession of on November 24th, 1518, by buying out his brother Andreas *) as a pledge and security to the Council. But the proposal was not accepted, and in the end Dürer never succeeded in getting the money. He must indeed have been only too glad to see the continuance of his pension secured to him.

A change of government under the old electoral system in Germany was no slight affair. The greatest as well as the smallest matters were affected by it, and every one hastened, therefore, to gain the support of the new head of the Empire in favour of his own rights and privileges. Upon the intelligence, then, that Maximilian's grandson, the newly-elected Emperor Charles V., was going to the Netherlands to receive homage, and afterwards to Cologne for his coronation, Dürer set out in the hope of meeting him somewhere and obtaining the ratification of the favours accorded by Maximilian. There is no doubt that this was the principal object of his journey to the Netherlands in 1520. He provided himself in the usual manner with a rough draft of the form which he wished the imperial deed of ratification to take.† In this draft he speaks of the yearly pension of 100 florins, as well as of the more recent grant of 200 florins. However, he only obtained from Charles V., and as he himself says, "with great labour and trouble," ‡ a ratification of the pension, and the deed was

* See vol. i. p. 53.

† Two different copies of this rough draft, both written by Dürer himself, are preserved to us; one is in the possession of Dr. Blasius, and has been published in the *Jahrbücher für Kunstwissenschaft*, i. 76. The other forms part of the Posonyi-Hulot collection (p. 39 of the catalogue), now in the Berlin Museum.

‡ *Dürers Briefe*, pp. 100 and 175; the deed, which may also be seen in Meyer (p. 25), is countersigned by the Archchancellor, the Elector Albert of Mayence.

signed at Cologne on the 12th of November, 1520. After this, Dürer regularly drew the 100 florins from the Nuremberg treasury to the end of his life. His receipts for it from the years 1521 to 1527, always dated the 12th of November, or some day soon after, are still among the royal archives at Nuremberg.*

So far as we know, Dürer had nothing further to do with Charles V., or the literary men at the Imperial Court. When Cuspinian wrote to Pirkheimer from Vienna on November 25th, 1526, to ask him if Dürer would furnish the portraits of the Emperors that were still wanting for some publication, he appears to have received a refusal.† However, before his journey to the Netherlands, the master had an opportunity of executing a little commission in honour of the newly-elected Emperor. The election took place at Frankfort on June 28th, 1519, and the Nuremberg Council immediately resolved to pay some especial mark of attention to the Emperor, worthy of a town so rich in art. They wanted to have several dies cut and engraved for "a fine handsome medal." Following Wilibald Pirkheimer's advice, "a pretty and appropriate sketch" for this purpose was laid before the Council by Albert Dürer. This drawing was engraved on wood, and an impression of it sent, on June 4th, 1520, with a letter, to Lazarus Spengler, who was then staying at Augsburg on public business. Dürer and the Council wanted to know exactly whether the names and arms of the Emperor were rightly arranged above the numbers 1 and 9† (which no doubt stood for the date 1519); and further, whether the two pillars (the Pillars of Hercules), and the motto, "*Plus ultra*," were in their right place; and

* They are printed in Meyer (pp. 26–29). The last is translated in *Dürers Briefe*, pp. 60 and 220.

† *Pirkheimeri Op.* ed. Goldast, 257.

whether it were "according to the manners and customs of his royal Majesty that in this and in other things in honour of his Majesty, the pillars should be thus represented, with such words above them," &c.; and then how the Imperial Eagle was to be fashioned, and whether his breast should be covered with the Spanish as well as the Austro-Burgundian escutcheon. The secretary of the Council was to collect information on all these points from Johannes Stabius, without, however, letting the object of his inquiries be known. If any questions were asked, he was to begin talking about some buildings and paintings which were just being carried out in the Castle and the Town Hall.*

Of the woodcut here referred to there exist hardly any but modern impressions from the Derschau Collection.† The arrangement and execution show little care, and prove that it was only intended to serve a temporary object. The height is greater than the width, and it is arched at the top. Below appears a half-length figure of the youthful Emperor, holding a pomegranate in his hand, and wearing a broad-brimmed hat; his mouth is partly open, and his eyes, which have a languishing look, are turned a little to the left. Above are the pillars, the motto, the title, the arms, and the date 1519, all in accordance with the scheme of the Council; and it is probable that they were intended for the reverse of the medal. The fact that an impression of this composition was sent to Augsburg, explains how it was the wood engraver there, Jost de Negker, was able immediately to make a finer and more finished cut of it. He added a rich architectural border in the Renaissance style, and placed underneath in movable

* Nuremberg, *Königl. Archiv, Correspondenzprotocoll* 81, fol. 137. Baader, *Beiträge* ii. 39.

† It is described by Bartsch (Appendix, No. 41); by Heller (No. 2161); and by Passavant (No. 334, *b–c*). The general verdict against its being Dürer's is an incorrect one.

type an inscription in eight lines, setting forth the Emperor's titles and his own name.*

When Spengler had acquitted himself of his mission, two dies, with the Emperor's likeness, and with the arms of his empire and his hereditary dominions, were prepared from Dürer's drawing. Medals also were struck, "in which not so much the value, as the workmanship and art are to be regarded;" and the Emperor was to be surprised with the presentation of a number of them, when he came to the next Diet, which was appointed to be held at Nuremberg.† As this Diet, instead of being held at Nuremberg, where the pest was raging, took place at Worms in 1521, the Council decided to send the coins thither; but whether they did so we do not know. At the next Diet, which assembled at Nuremberg in the winter of 1522–1523, the Emperor did not appear, having already returned to Spain. It was to no purpose, therefore, that the Nuremberg Council had put the old imperial castle in order. The fitting up and adornment of the Town Hall was, however, still proceeded with.

By a decree of the Council of the year 1521, it had been resolved that the Town Hall should be painted after designs by Dürer. The cost was to be defrayed out of the tax levied on painters. An account was required from Dürer of the work he had done, in order that the Elteren Herren might determine what payment should be given to him. The amount he actually received, in 1522, was a hundred florins, "for the great trouble he had taken with the designs for the Town Hall."‡ It is evident from this, that Dürer only supplied the designs for the paintings, which still cover the long wall of the large hall, and that he took no part in

* Described by Passavant (No. 334, *a*).

† Whether a specimen of these coins is extant I have not been able to ascertain: a numismatist may perhaps be able to furnish some information on the subject.

‡ Baader, *Beiträge* i. 8.

their execution. They are ascribed to his pupil, George Penz.* As Penz did not paint the wall in fresco, but either in oil or distemper, his work did not last long; and though entirely repainted in oil-colours by Gabriel Weyer in the year 1618, it is now in such a lamentable condition that nothing certain can be pronounced as to its original merit.

The principal wall of the old Gothic hall, which is eighty feet in length, and was afterwards covered with a wooden waggon-roof, is divided by two rather low doors into three unequal parts, the longest of which is on the right of the spectator, and the shortest between the two doors. For each of these three divisions Dürer furnished a design for a painting, corresponding to the three different objects for which the vast hall was to be used. These were state-assemblies, including even Imperial Diets, judicial trials, and social meetings, such as the dances and merrymakings at weddings and other fêtes of patrician families, who considered it as one of their privileges to be able to make this use of the Town Hall, and require the attendance of the city band.

On the wall to the left of the spectator, where Peter Vischer's celebrated bronze grating formerly stood, is an allegory relating to the administration of justice, intended by a startling example to impress upon the judges the necessity for care and circumspection. Lucian gives a description of the famous painting in which Apelles represented allegorically the effects of slander.† The talented Florentine, Leon Battista Alberti, in his disquisition upon painting,‡ written as early as 1435, proposed this picture as a model. Many Renaissance painters, such as Sandro Botticelli, Andrea Mantegna, Girolamo Mocetto, Raphael, Am-

* Neudörffer, *Nachrichten*, 40: "In 1521, he executed some works in the Town Hall."

† "Calumniæ non temere credendum," 4.

‡ *De Pictura*, Basle, 1540, lib. iii.

brosius Holbein, Rembrandt, and others, afterwards endeavoured to treat the same subject;* and Dürer followed their example in the design which he made for the Town Hall in 1522. It is a pen-drawing, and is still preserved in the Albertina. We give a small facsimile reproduction of it. A strange hand, probably Wilibald Pirkheimer's, has written on the margin in German and Latin the name and meaning of each figure. This makes it easier to understand the composition, which differs somewhat from Lucian's description.†

The incompetent judge, provided with long ears, "which might pass for Midas's ears," is seated. Suspicion whispers in his left ear; on his right stands Ignorance, showing by her gestures that all is already clear to her. At a sign from the judge, Calumny drags forward by his hair the innocent man, who lifts up his hands and calls the gods to witness. Calumny is an uncommonly charming maiden, but agitated by passion, and betraying both scorn and anger in her demeanour. Following, and not preceding her, as in Lucian's description, comes Envy, pale and ill-favoured, as if emaciated by long illness; she is between Deceit and Fraud,

* The pen-and-ink drawings by Mantegna and Rembrandt, which it is not proposed to criticise here, are in the British Museum. Raphael's bistre drawing, which was in the Crozat Cabinet, is now in the Louvre; it has been etched in chiaroscuro by Ch. N. Cochin and V. Le Sueur, and also etched by Denon, and engraved by Leroy. Girolamo Mocetto's composition is engraved in Bartsch, *P. G.* xiii. 113, No. 10; and there is a woodcut after Amb. Holbein's in Passavant, *P. G.* iii. 422, No. 1. A woodcut, attributed to Erhard Schön, in the Derschau Collection, represents the same subject; and so does a mural painting by Hans Bock in the Town Hall at Basle. But the best known rendering of it is the celebrated small picture, by Sandro Botticelli, in the Uffizii at Florence. A comparison between these different compositions is as interesting as it is instructive.

† The figures are marked in the painting with Latin names almost identical. This sentence also may be read on both sides of the judge's throne—

"A judge to pass a sentence true,
Must sift the matter through and through;"

together with the Latin rendering:—"Nemo unquam sententiam ferat, priusquam cuncta ad amussim perpenderet."

CALUMNY, AFTER LUCIAN'S DESCRIPTION OF THE PICTURE BY APELLES.

(From the Pen Drawing in the Albertina at Vienna.)

To face p. 162, Vol. II.

who here encourage Calumny instead of dressing and adorning her. Behind follows a similar group; clownish Error, between Haste, lightly clad, and Chastisement, who holds a sword in her hand. Then comes Penitence in mourning garments, and looking back ashamed, as Truth at length triumphantly approaches.

Dürer has attired Truth in a rich costume of the period, with a broad hat and feathers, and carrying on a dish a radiant sun. He could not portray her under the form of a beautiful nude figure, as the Italian masters of that time had done. But his delineation of the whole scene is rich in thoughtful meaning, and full of subtle connection between the figures and groups. The grandeur and harmony of the composition, the clearness of all the details, even down to the slightly creased draperies, afford an admirable specimen of Dürer's style at this period. As to the execution of the figures, which are nearly three feet high, little can be said in the present condition of the paintings. One striking departure from Dürer's drawing should, however, be pointed out, as it appears to me to prove clearly that he himself had no share in reproducing the sketch upon the wall. Dürer no doubt had so arranged his composition as that it should exactly occupy the space between the wall on the left, in which are the windows, and the nearest entrance door; the judge's throne, which was only raised by one step, being thus placed with its back directly against the door. But the painter who was charged with carrying out the design, George Penz perhaps, either could not quite accomplish this, or made a mistake, and raised the throne and the group with the judge to the space above the lintel of the door. This displacement of the principal group threw out the whole of the intended frieze-like arrangement, and a space on the wall remained empty, which the painter endeavoured to fill up by moving the three foremost groups

apart from each other. Thus divided, the whole well-considered composition loses all form and unity. It is impossible to allow that such a blunder could have been committed under the eyes of the author of the design.

Behind the judge's seat, in the small compartment between the two doors, is depicted "the musicians' seat" (*Pfeiferstuhl*). The city band, consisting of seven official musicians, with the escutcheon of the city emblazoned on their garments, appear life-size, some seated and others standing on a balcony, which is covered with gilded ornamentation in the style of the Renaissance. They are playing dance music, while around them are a number of other persons gesticulating in a lively manner: altogether a picturesque group of fourteen richly-clad figures. Round the balcony runs a balustrade on three pillars, corresponding to the supporting volutes below, which are greatly foreshortened in the drawing. Dürer's authorship of this composition has been doubted, though it appears to me without sufficient grounds. It is true no sketch for the picture exists, and the painting as we see it now shows many Italian features. But we do not know how much of this is to be attributed to George Penz, who had probably studied from Italian models, or, still more, to the restorer, G. Weyer.* The musicians, according to an old tradition, are supposed to be portraits, though none of them have yet been identified with any show of probability. A careful inspection of the painting has led me to form an hypothesis of my own with regard to the three principal musicians sitting in the middle, whom the customary escutcheons on the breast indicate as public servants of the town. In the three-

* The painting was reproduced in lithograph by Eberlein in 1856. See *A. Dürers Wandgemälde im grösseren Rathhaussaale zu Nürnberg radiert von Ph. Walther*, with an explanatory text by G. W. K. Lochner, Nuremberg, 1869.

quarter profile of the old man with the hood, sitting on the left, the well-known likeness of Wolgemut clearly appears to me to have been used, the attitude even being precisely that in which Dürer has taken him. Perhaps—and the conjecture is not an improbable one—Dürer intended here to immortalise the master, who had died two years before. The figure sitting opposite on the right strikingly reminds us of Lazarus Spengler's vigorous profile, and the fashion of his hair, in spite of the addition of a short beard. As to the stout man between them with the flat nose, perhaps he originally bore Pirkheimer's features. Whether, however, such a broad jest as the representation of the two leading men of the city under the guise of public musicians playing with all their might, would, on the whole, have been looked upon as acceptable and allowable, I will not pretend to decide.

On the long surface of wall which extends on the right from the second door to the end of the hall, just, in fact, where the president's tribune was placed, is painted the Emperor Maximilian's Triumphal Car, on a large scale, all in gold, with Pirkheimer's allegories round it. The representation corresponds exactly with that masterpiece of wood engraving which Dürer published for the first time in the year 1522, as "designed, drawn, and printed" by him; and the blocks for which were, without doubt, cut by Hieronymus Andreæ.* The mural painting, as well as the woodcut, are chiefly distinguished from the drawing of the year 1518 already referred to, by the Emperor being re-

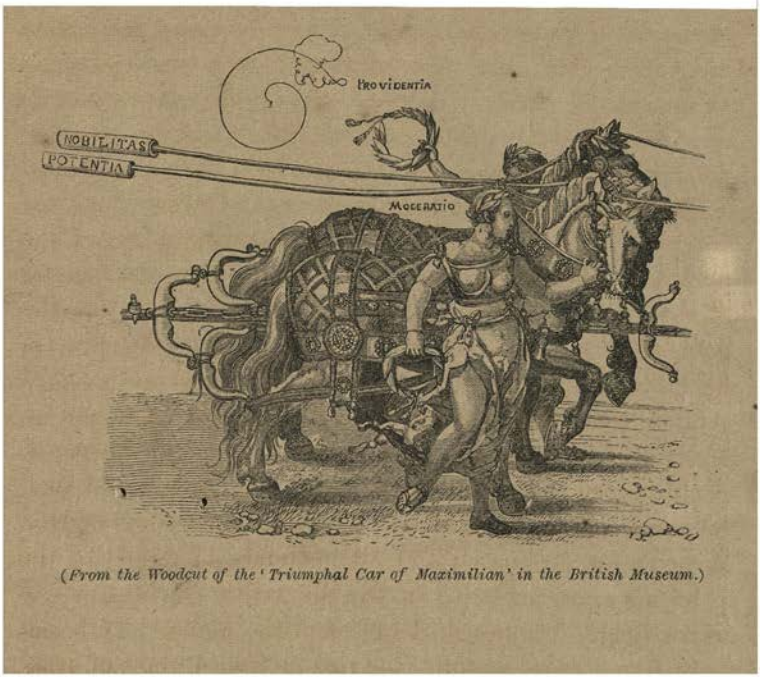
* Bartsch, 139; Heller, 1912; Retberg, 247; Hausmann, p. 84. Herr A. H. Cornill, of Frankfort, is in possession of the rough draft submitted to the Emperor, and of the inscriptions which were to accompany the woodcuts, with corrections in Pirkheimer's own hand.

presented in them seated alone in the chariot without his family. It would not have been thought correct to depict the then reigning Emperor, Charles V., in the lower rank of a prince beside Maximilian; and, indeed, after the latter's death and the suspension of the work, little attention was paid to the programme which he had formed for the whole 'Triumphal Procession.' No doubt Dürer's drawing for the woodcut, if not the woodcut itself, served as the model for the paintings on the wall.

These are the only known mural paintings in which Dürer had any share, even in providing the designs. It must have been a great gratification to him to be able to place a memorial of his imperial patron in so important a position in his native city. But that he himself did a mural painting or design for Maximilian rests only on the authority of an anecdote, which is quite unauthenticated. Carel van Mander* relates that the Emperor Maximilian once made Dürer draw something for him upon the wall. As the latter could not reach up high enough, the Emperor commanded one of the noblemen present to lie down, in order that the master might stand upon him and finish the drawing. When the nobleman refused, as it would be an indignity for him to be trodden upon by a painter, the Emperor is said to have replied, that Albert was far more noble than a nobleman on account of his pre-eminent talent, and that he, the Emperor, could indeed make a nobleman out of any peasant, but such an artist out of no nobleman. The Emperor then conferred upon Dürer, for himself and all his future fellow-artists, the painter's arms, consisting of the three silver shields upon an azure field. The principal object of the whole story seems to be to assign some motive for this pretended grant of arms.

* *Het Schilderboeck*, 2nd edit., Amsterdam, 1618, fol. 131 *b*.

Joachim von Sandrart repeats the tale, but, being himself a sprig of nobility, he does not make the Emperor require the nobleman to lie down, but only to hold the ladder for Dürer. In this more courtly form the fable was widely circulated, and finally became popular; for the people like their heroes to be brought into contact with one another in this sort of way. Enough for them if the story has an air of probability; and as for ourselves, it may amuse us without our being convinced of its truth.



(From the Woodcut of the 'Triumphal Car of Maximilian' in the British Museum.)

CHAPTER XV.

THE JOURNEY TO THE NETHERLANDS.

"I never saw the like on German soil."—DÜRER.

LBERT DÜRER set out upon his journey to the Netherlands on the 12th of July, 1520. We have already learned the principal object of this expedition, which was to meet, somewhere or other, the newly-elected Emperor, Charles V., and obtain from him the confirmation of Maximilian's grants. Besides, the plague was again raging in Nuremberg at that time to such a degree, that every one who possibly could turned their backs upon the city. Pirkheimer, who had retired to Neunhof, to the estate of his brother-in-law Geuder, states in his well-known letter to Bernhard Adelmann, that his friends had fled with their wives and children to the surrounding villages, and that his own daughters had followed their husbands to Augsburg and Meissen. Dürer took with him not only his wife, but her maid Susanne. His principal destination was Antwerp, the London of those days, which had even then become the chief centre for the development of the arts, as Bruges and Ghent had been before, and Haarlem and Amsterdam were afterwards. The rich merchant city thus offered a good prospect of gain to the painter, who consequently took with

him a considerable supply of objects of art, including, especially, numerous impressions of his engravings and woodcuts. By the sale of these he meant to pay the expenses of the journey, if possible, and also to smooth the way with the great people whose help he needed.

He made immediate use of them at Bamberg, with the Bishop, George III., a Schenk of Limburg, to whom he gave a painting of the Virgin, a copy of the 'Life of the Virgin' and of the 'Apocalypse,' and some engravings worth a florin. In return he not only obtained an honourable reception, but the Bishop also provided him with a pass exempting him from tolls, and with three letters of introduction to influential people. Dürer was also received in a distinguished manner by the painters at Bamberg. At that place he hired a boatman, and went in his craft down the Main to Mayence. His free pass did him everywhere good service, and he frequently met with a friendly welcome at the different stopping-places. At Frankfort, his old acquaintance Jacob Heller, for whom he had painted an altar-piece, sent him some wine at the inn. At Mayence they disputed for the honour of entertaining him. Leaving this latter place on July 23rd, he embarked on the Rhine for Cologne. Still his free pass procured him exemption from toll, only at the Treves custom-house at Boppart he was obliged to certify, under hand and seal, "that he carried no ordinary merchandise with him." They met a collector of customs at Lahnstein, who knew Dürer's wife well—perhaps through her having frequently gone to the markets with objects of art; he was rejoiced now to make the acquaintance of Dürer himself, and begged him for his good offices with his noble patron the Elector of Mayence. Dürer appears to be himself surprised at the good effect of his free pass, for when they let him go without paying anything at Engers, which also belonged to Treves, he promised the collector that he would

mention him to the Bishop of Bamberg. At length they arrived at Cologne, where Dürer was received by his cousin, the goldsmith Niklas, and was treated with great distinction by the Augsburg merchant, Hieronymus Fugger. The journey from Cologne was continued by carriage, through Sittard and Stockhem, and they reached Antwerp, which Dürer calls Antorf, the name then in use in Upper Germany, on August 2nd, 1520. The vivid impression made upon him by the active life of the great commercial city is shown by the remarkable pen-sketch in the Albertina, representing the landing-place at the Scheldethor, of which we give a reproduction on a reduced scale.

We are exceptionally well informed about this journey of Dürer's, owing to the journal which he kept during it having been preserved. No more valuable document exists, both for the information it affords as to Dürer's history, and the light it throws on the general state of art and civilisation in his time. The first edition of it, which however was incomplete, was published by Von Murr in his own *Journal* in 1779; and Campe produced a second edition rather more exact, and apparently complete, in his *Reliquien* of 1828. Of the original MS. nothing whatever is known. Probably it is hidden away in the archives of some Nuremberg family.* In forming any judgment then as to the original arrangement of the note-book, we have nothing but this second bald

* H. A. von Derschau, it is true, informed the traveller Th. Fr. Dibdin, the author of *A Biographical Tour in France and Germany*, 1821, iii. supplem. 33, that he had had in his possession a journal of Dürer's, and that it had been burnt during a fight at some place or other between the French and Prussians. Whether the original of the Netherlands Journal is to be understood is more than doubtful. The whole story sounds improbable. Derschau had nothing but the old copy from the Ebner Library, which was the one already made use of by Murr, and which afterwards became in 1825 the property of a Baron Gross von Trockau. See my publication, *Dürers Briefe, Tagebücher*, &c., where I have attempted to explain the defective text. More precise information will also be found there with regard to the details touched upon in the following pages.

THE LANDING-PLACE AT THE SCHELDETHOR, ANTWERP (1520).

(*From the Pen Drawing in the Albertina at Vienna.*)

TO FACE P. 110, VOL. II.

reprint to fall back upon. It appears to have been a little book used principally for keeping an account of the payments and receipts during the journey. To be a good manager was, as we know, a part of Dürer's nature. He jotted down carefully every stiver which he paid for food or gave to servants, or spent in play or wine. The names of the villages he passed through, and many things connected with the expenditure of money, also naturally occur. But he went further than this, and noted down many other matters as a help apparently to his memory, in case he should wish afterwards to amuse himself with his reminiscences. These entries are more or less diffuse, according to the degree of interest which he took in the circumstances, or to the time he had at his disposal. They do not appear to have been made every day. Sometimes he includes the events of several days under one entry, and afterwards goes back to complete the account of some previously noted fact. On the other hand, he must continually have left larger or smaller blank spaces in which to make interpolations, such as the strokes that he used for figures. Many of these additions could not have been made till after his return home, as for instance, the passage relating to the distribution of the presents he had brought for his friends and acquaintances, and that in which he speaks of his illness in Zeeland. The journal must consequently have gone through some sort of revision at home, without however being written out afresh, for if it had been Dürer would have a good deal condensed it by giving, for instance, less room to the number of meals which he kept an account of every day by means of strokes, or j's, placed close together. The book was never written for publication; it was merely intended as a statement of accounts, and also to serve as a memorial of an important journey, and a help in describing to friends the wonders of foreign lands.

At Antwerp Dürer immediately took a lodging at the

house of Jobst Plankfelt. In the Städel Institute at Frankfort there is a pen-and-ink likeness of this landlord of his, a man still young, done by Dürer in 1520. During nearly the whole of his stay at Antwerp, the master and his belongings lived quietly at Plankfelt's, and when the latter's wife gave birth to a child, Dürer's wife stood sponsor for it. Dürer made an exact agreement for everything with his host. He himself, when not invited out, took his meals with him; but Frau Agnes and her maid, in order probably to save expense, cooked for themselves and ate upstairs in their own room. On the very day of his arrival he received an invitation to supper from Bernhard Stecher, the agent of the Fuggers, who gave him a magnificent repast. The Sunday following, August 5th, the painters invited him and his wife and maid to the Hall of their Guild, and provided a grand banquet in his honour. Dürer admired the quantity of silver-plate and the costly utensils, and further notes down with evident satisfaction: "All their wives were there, and, as I was led to the table, every one stood, on both sides, as if they were conducting a great lord. There were very distinguished persons among them, who made low bows, and behaved to me in the most humble manner, saying that they would do everything they possibly could to be agreeable to me. And when I was seated, there came the usher of the Council of Antwerp, with two servants, and gave me four stoups of wine in the name of the Council, who wished in this way, as they said, to show me their respect, and assure me of their goodwill." He then narrates how merry they were together till well into the night, and how he and his companions were then, as a mark of honour, conducted home with torches. Such tokens of esteem, which were repeated in other towns in the Netherlands, must have shown Dürer how widely his fame had spread in that old country of the arts. Contrary to what had formerly taken place in Venice, here his brothers

in art paid him homage, without envy or professional jealousy, for they looked upon him, in all respects, as one of themselves. They even requested him to do a coloured pen-sketch, or as he himself expresses it, "*eine Visierung mit halben Farben.*" The Flemish provinces and Germany formed as yet one nation; no boundary line separated them.

At Antwerp Dürer examined with an attentive eye Art in all its active phases, as shown both in the productions of the time, as well as in the monuments of the mighty past. But, unfortunately, it was not his habit to enter at length into these questions, at any rate in his notes, which, being only intended as a help to his memory, he made as brief as possible. We only learn that soon after his arrival he visited Quentin Massys at the latter's house, at the sign of the Ape, in the Gerberstrasse (Tanners' Street). But he is silent as to the impression made upon him by the grand style, the brilliant manner of painting, and power of characterisation of the great painter. We can form a guess as to what it was, indeed, by looking at the last paintings which he ever completed. It is enough, however, that Quentin Massys was the first painter whom Dürer sought out in the Netherlands; he was also the only one among living artists who could compete with the Nuremberg master. Dürer was afterwards taken by his landlord to the Arsenal of Antwerp, where the painters had established their studios, for the purpose of painting the great triumphal structures through which the Emperor Charles was to make his solemn entry on the 23rd of September. It was by decorating their streets in this magnificent manner that the cities were accustomed to show that their loyalty was on a par with their wealth, and with the skill of their artists. Dürer admired, therefore, the four hundred arches, each forty feet wide and two stories high, which were to be placed on both sides of the street, and which cost the considerable sum of 4000 florins.

Thanks to the letters of introduction which he brought with him from Nuremberg, and to the compatriots whom he encountered everywhere, and thanks also to his talent as an artist and his attractive manners, Dürer soon found numerous friends and patrons at Antwerp, and in the other towns of the Netherlands which he visited. He was overwhelmed with invitations, and all sorts of presents, which he did his best to return, by giving away impressions of his woodcuts and engravings, as well as by taking likenesses, in which he excelled. He mentions numerous portraits that he did for people chiefly out of kindness, but sometimes for payment, only a few of which, naturally, have been preserved. Most of them were charcoal-drawings; a painting was quite the exception. Dürer had not, in fact, brought any of the necessary materials for oil-painting with him, so that at first he was obliged to borrow an assistant and colours from Joachim de Patenier. When he took any portrait for himself, it was generally of small dimensions, and done with the pen: like, for instance, the half-length figure which the Albertina possesses of the military-looking musician, Felix Hungersperg, a gaunt, long-necked, one-eyed man, wearing a cap with a broad, slashed brim, underneath which can be seen his hair gathered up in a net. At the top of the drawing is the date 1520, and the following inscription: "This is Captain Felix, the charming lute-player." Dürer did another pen-drawing of the same individual in the latter's "book," probably his music-book. This drawing, or the sketch for it, is in the same collection. The warrior-musician is represented kneeling to the right, so that his blind eye is not seen, and with his hands folded over a shield, on which is depicted the imperial double-eagle. At the top Dürer has written, "Felix Hungersperg, the charming and incomparable lute-player;" and at the side, "These are the best: Felix, Adolph, Samario,"—i.e. the

best lute-players; a remark which proves that the master was not insensible to the charms of music.

Dürer carried a small sketch-book with him, containing leaves of white prepared paper, on which he drew with a metal point, the so-called silver-point. This little book was oblong in shape, and the size of a medium octavo. Some leaves of it exist in various collections, and can easily be recognised by the shape and material, as well as by the inscriptions and dates on the sketches. The assertion that he took with him another sketch-book of a larger size, in which to do his charcoal-portraits, is a fiction invented for the purpose of giving a character of authenticity to certain forgeries. Even if he did execute some charcoal-drawings on a larger scale, it was only as an exception, and they were certainly upon single loose sheets.

At Antwerp Dürer soon made the acquaintance of Erasmus of Rotterdam, who gave him several presents, and whose likeness he drew repeatedly. In the same way he took the portrait of the astronomer Nicolaus Kratzer, whom he met at Erasmus's house, and who was useful to him on many occasions afterwards. Kratzer was born at Munich, but lived at the English Court, where Holbein afterwards painted the excellent portrait of him which is now in the Louvre. His intercourse with Dürer was, as we shall see, subsequently continued by letter. The scientific pursuits of Stabius and others, in which Dürer took part, formed a sufficient bond of union between the painter and the scholar. The *Imagines Coeli* was one of the works which Dürer gave away while at Antwerp. His chief patrons there were to be found among the foreign merchants, such as the Portuguese Consul, named Brandan, whom Dürer generally speaks of simply as "the Portuguese," and his compatriot and future successor, the rich merchant Roderigo Fernandez, who, in 1528, when agent of the Portuguese nation, bought the magnificent

Ymmerseele house, afterwards called the Vetkot house. He provided Dürer abundantly with Portuguese and French wines, also with oysters and delicacies, marchpane, and sweetmeats made from colonial produce, "as well as some sugar-canes just as they grow." Brandan gave him, among other things, a set of porcelain and some Indian feathers.

But the person who took the greatest interest in Dürer, and with whose family he had most intercourse, was Tommaso Bombelli, a Genoese. Bombelli originally came from Lucca; he was one of the richest silk merchants in Antwerp, and at the same time Treasurer to the Archduchess Margaret. Dürer notes carefully the many marks of esteem which he received from these foreigners, whose kindness was extended to his wife also. Bombelli presented her with some rich material for a cloak, Roderigo with a small green parrot, for which a cage had to be bought, as well as with a small ring, worth more than five florins, some attar of roses, and other things.

Dürer devoted especial attention to the architecture of Antwerp. He made his host take him to the house of the Burgomaster, Arnold van Liere, and is astonished at the magnificence of the building. He admires the Church of our Lady (afterwards the Cathedral), and its sumptuous decoration. A delicate pen-drawing, in the Albertina, of the exterior of one side of the church, with the unfinished tower, is Flemish work, and certainly not by Dürer; but it belonged to him, and he probably brought it from Antwerp. He is no less delighted with the stone stalls and the monolithic columns in the Abbey Church of St. Michael. "And at Antwerp," he adds, "they spare no cost for such things, for there is money enough!" He made a pencil-sketch of the tower of St. Michael, rising up above the mass of roofs, in his sketch-book, on the same sheet as the likeness of a man of twenty-four years of age. The sheet is in the collection

of the Duc d'Aumale. Dürer also finds the house of the Fuggers very charming, with its peculiar towers, its beautiful garden, and its splendid stables. On the 19th of August, the Sunday after the Assumption, he had the opportunity of seeing the grand procession from the Frauenkirche, which took more than two hours to pass by his house. The splendour of the pageant, at which all the dignitaries, guilds, and brotherhoods of the town assisted, made a great impression upon him. He never tired of looking at the delightful spectacle, and at the groups which accompanied it upon cars, boats, and other erections. There were the band of Prophets; the Angelic Salutation; the cavalcade of the Three Magi, on camels and other strange animals; the Flight into Egypt; St. Margaret, "who was particularly pretty," with her virgins and the dragon; St. George, with his esquire, splendidly accoutred cavaliers; and a multitude of youths and maidens, in costly foreign costumes, representing various saints. He playfully gives up recounting all the marvels: "There were so many things, that I could never describe them in a whole book; so I give it up."

On August 26th, he went with Tommaso Bombelli to Brussels, passing through Mechlin. The time for the new Emperor's arrival drew near, and there were necessary preparations to make, and connections to be formed. Dürer had already sent some of his best copper engravings from Antwerp to the sculptor Conrad Meyt, by one of the imperial ushers. Master Conrad, a Swiss by birth, was in the service of the Regent of the Netherlands, Margaret, daughter of the Emperor Maximilian I.; he was considered the first sculptor of his day in that country. Dürer not a little admired "the good sculptor, whose like he had never seen." On his way through Mechlin he invited him to supper, and was himself Conrad's guest at Brussels. At that place he met the deputation sent by his native city to be present at the coronation,

consisting of the Councillors Hans Ebner, Leonhard Groland, and Niklas Haller. They were charged with the duty of bringing the imperial regalia to Aix-la-Chapelle for the coronation, and of taking them back after it was over. They did not fail to make much of their celebrated countryman, and undertook the whole cost of his entertainment. At Brussels Dürer also met the former burgomaster of Antwerp, who had only retired in 1520, Jan van Ymmerseele, Margrave of the territory of Ryen: he had a letter of introduction to him from the Bishop of Bamberg, and sent with it a copy of the 'Passion in Copper,' "that Jan van Ymmerseele may remember me." He made a similar present to Jacob de Bannisis, who had been the confidential adviser and private secretary of Maximilian I. Dürer could be sure of being well received by him, for Bannisis was an intimate friend of Pirkheimer, who had dedicated several books to him. Ulrich von Hutten, in a letter to Pirkheimer, praises Bannisis as "an exceedingly learned and eloquent man;" he only wishes "that the Emperor had ten such advisers." Dürer, no doubt, had already met him before. Bannisis made his secretary draw up Dürer's memorial to the Emperor, and invited him to his table.

There were many wonders for Dürer to see in Brussels; such as the "magnificent Town Hall, with beautifully hewn masonry, and a noble fretwork tower," and in it "the Golden Chamber, with the four paintings by the great master Rüdiger" (Rogier van der Weyden). This refers to the great altar-piece with wings, on which were represented subjects typical of severe justice, a masterpiece, which Rogier executed for the city of Brussels, and which was destroyed during the French siege in 1695. But Dürer's curiosity was chiefly excited by "the things brought to the King from the new gold-country (Mexico): a sun, entirely of gold, a whole fathom broad, and a moon all of silver quite as large; two

rooms full of the armour worn by the people there; likewise all kinds of wonderful arms, harness, weapons, very quaint clothing, bedding, and all sorts of strange objects of common use, which are as interesting as they are strange. These things are all so costly, that they are valued at a hundred thousand florins. But I never before in all my life saw what delighted me so much, for I perceived among them marvellously artistic objects, and I was amazed at the subtle *ingenia* of the people in foreign countries. Indeed, I cannot say enough about everything that I had before me there." Among many other "beautiful things" which he saw at Brussels, he thought the bone of a gigantic ante-diluvian animal so especially remarkable, that he made a drawing of it in his note-book; he says it is "so big, one might think it was made of blocks of stone." Then he visited the splendid palace of Count Henry of Nassau, the Stadtholder of Holland, who, by his marriage with the heiress of Orange, laid the foundation of the glory of his house. Among other treasures, he saw there in the chapel a fine work by Hugo van der Goes, probably the one representing the Seven Sacraments, which is mentioned in later inventories of the House of Nassau. He particularly mentions the beautiful view which is to be enjoyed from this palace, in consequence of its high position.

It was at Brussels that he had the honour of being sent for by the Archduchess Margaret, who was exceedingly gracious to him, and promised to be his intercessor with her nephew King Charles, whose education she had at one time superintended. Not only had Margaret inherited a love of art from her ancestors, but she was in many ways an artist herself; she composed poetry and music, she painted, and also did fine embroidery, which at that time was as highly considered as painting. In these occupations she found some compensation for the sad existence which a fatal family

policy had prepared for her. Her favourite master at that time was the Brussels painter, Bernhard van Orley. Although a contemporary of Dürer's, Master Bernhard belonged already to a much more advanced school: he devoted himself unreservedly to the imitation of Italian models, and consequently encouraged the transition to that mannerism which gave the death-blow to the glories of early Flemish art. This did not prevent him from doing honour to Dürer, whom he accordingly asked to a banquet, the costliness of which astonished the German master, and to which some distinguished courtiers invited themselves, as the latter says, "to afford me good company." Among them were Jan de Marnix, Treasurer and Receiver-General of Finance in the Netherlands, Jehan de Meteneye, Chamberlain to the King, and Gilles de Bussleyden, head of the Audit Office of Brabant. Dürer exchanged presents with the last-named, and he took the portrait of Jan de Marnix in charcoal.

Another entry made by Dürer while at Brussels is: "I gave two stivers to have the altar-piece of St. Luke opened." This does not refer to a picture of St. Luke painting the Virgin—probably the subject of Rogier van der Weyden's painting *—but to one which was evidently ascribed to the Evangelist himself. There were at that time many such supposed original portraits of Scripture personages. The Archduchess Margaret possessed a likeness of Christ "painted from life," and one of the Virgin "painted by St. Luke," which was also highly prized by Charles V. This may have been the one that Dürer saw, exhibited probably in some church. No sacrilegious doubts as yet interfered with the enjoyment of a painting or diminished its value. These were the good old times before Art had a history.

* This is the opinion of Crowe and Cavalcaselle, 'History of Early Flemish Painters,' 2nd edition, p. 217.

On September 2nd Dürer returned to Antwerp with Tommaso Bombelli. He received there an invitation from the two brothers Von Rogendorf, Wilhelm and Wolf. They were of Austrian origin, and Wilhelm, the elder, had been one of the most confidential servants of Maximilian I., both in war and politics. Appointed a member of the Privy Council of the Netherlands and Governor-General of Friesland, he resigned both offices on October 8th, 1520, in order to return to Upper Germany. Dürer says, "I dined once with them, and I have drawn their arms, large, upon a block, so that they may be engraved." Of these arms, the largest and most beautiful which Dürer ever drew, one impression only has hitherto been discovered, and even this is mutilated in one corner. It is in the Germanic Museum at Nuremberg.* Dürer received seven ells of velvet as a present in return for this drawing. Rogendorf was a great lover of the arts, and had a painter, Master Jacob of Lübeck, in his own especial service.

Many notable personages and artists were assembled at Antwerp to be present at the reception of the new Emperor, Charles V. Dürer did not fail to buy for himself the description of the fêtes, written in Latin by Cornelius Grapheus, and he adds, "The gates were sumptuously adorned with allegorical scenes most pleasing to look at, in which appeared beautiful young girls, whose like I have seldom seen." He afterwards particularly described to Melanchthon the splendid spectacles he had witnessed, and how, in what were plainly mythological groups, the most beautiful maidens figured almost naked, and covered only by a thin transparent veil. The young Emperor did not honour them with a look, but Dürer himself was very glad to get near, not less for the purpose of seeing the tableaux than to have the opportunity of observing closely the perfect figures of the young girls.

* Retberg, 239. In the second set of lithographic impressions of these arms the missing corner has been added.

As he himself says, "Being a painter, I looked about me a little more boldly."*

While these things were taking place at Antwerp, Dürer learned that the studio of Raphael of Urbino had been entirely broken up after his death on April 6th, 1520. The news was brought to him by one of Raphael's pupils, Tommaso Vincidore of Bologna, who wished to make his acquaintance. Vincidore had come to the Netherlands with a pressing letter of recommendation from Pope Leo X., for the purpose of superintending the execution of the tapestry that was being woven from the cartoons of Raphael and his pupils. The Bolognese artist presented a gold ring to Dürer with an engraved antique stone, worth five florins, and Dürer hastened in return to give Vincidore as many of his best prints as would amount to six florins. He further sent to him, on October 1st, impressions of the whole of his works to be taken to Rome by some other painter, and exchanged for Raphael's works. By Raphael's works Dürer no doubt meant Marcantonio Raimondi's engravings after Raphael, which had been done under the painter's own supervision, and which were always valued as highly as works by Raphael himself. Thomas of Bologna painted a portrait of Dürer at this time. What it was like can be seen from Andreas Stock's engraving of it in 1629.† It is a bust, and represents Dürer in a broad hat and fur-trimmed cloak. The hair is not so long as in his earlier years, but it still falls luxuriantly down to his shoulders; the beard is short, but

* "Narravit haec mihi optimus et honestissimus vir Durerus pictor, civis Norinbergensis, qui una cum Caesare urbem est ingressus. Addebat idem, se quam libentissime accessisse, cum ut agnosceret quid ageretur, tum ut perfectionem pulcherrimarum virginum rectius consideraret, dicens: Ego, quia eram pictor, aliquantulum inverecundius circumspexi." (Manlius, *Locorum communium collectanea*, Basle, 1563, ii. De Lege praecipuae decalogi virtutes obiter in quadam lectione a Domino Philippo recitatae, p. 213.)

† Heller, Part ii. No. 40. The engraving bears the inscription: "*Effigies Alberti Dureri Norici . . . quam Thomas Vincidor de Boloignia ad vivum depinxit Antwerpiae*, 1520."

very thick and bushy. Dürer relates that the painter intended to take the picture with him to Rome; but it is doubtful whether Vincidore ever returned to Italy. He found a new home in the Netherlands, was named painter to the Emperor there, and lived for thirty years at Breda, honoured by Count Henry of Nassau, whose castle he decorated.

In order to make further efforts to obtain the confirmation of his pension, Dürer followed the Emperor upon his coronation journey. He started on October 4th, by way of Maestricht, for Aix-la-Chapelle, where he arrived on the 7th. There he saw "the well-proportioned columns with their capitals of green and red porphyry and ordinary stone (*gassenstein*), which Charlemagne brought from Rome and inserted in the building. They are made according to the strict rules of art and the precepts of Vitruvius." This refers to the antique columns with which Charlemagne adorned the upper gallery of his Minster. Dürer's words show both his knowledge of, and continued interest in, classical architecture. The expression "inserted" is only too well justified, for these columns stood in the openings of the arcades, in couples one above the other, so that the lower ones were connected by the arches, while the upper ones touched the centre of the vaulting, an arrangement which had no meaning with regard to the construction. These columns were taken down and carried away by the French at the time of the Revolution, but they have since been replaced in the Cathedral, with the exception of four, which still remain as trophies in the Apollo Gallery in the Louvre. Dürer informs us also that he sketched the outside of the building with all its surroundings. This drawing in silver-point, on a leaf out of Dürer's little sketch-book, is in the possession of the widow of Professor Grahl at Dresden; it shows the old octagonal roofing of the transition style, joined by an arch to a tower of the

same period; and on it is written, in Dürer's hand, "*zw ach das münster*" ("the Cathedral at Aachen"). There is, in the collection of the Duc d'Aumale, another leaf from the little sketch-book with a perspective view of the Town Hall at Aix-la-Chapelle; instead of the present flight of steps outside, is seen a portico resting on two columns. On the back of this leaf is the bust of a powerful-looking beardless man, with a cap on one side of his head and a leathern apron. According to the inscription it is Caspar Sturm, a man forty-five years of age, whose portrait Dürer in his Journal mentions having taken.* Another leaf of Dürer's sketch-book, in the British Museum, contains a representation of a mastiff lying down, with the words "*zw ach gemacht*" ("done at Aachen").†

At Aix-la-Chapelle Dürer again met the Nuremberg coronation delegates, and lived with them and others of his fellow-citizens. He states that he did likenesses in his little book of Hans Ebner, Georg Schlaudersbach, and young Christoph Groland, the son of Leonhard, in charcoal; and of Paulus Topler and Martin Pfinzing in pencil. On October 23rd they assisted at Charles V.'s coronation. "I saw there," writes Dürer, "the most sumptuous magnificence of every kind, such as none of our contemporaries has ever seen the like of: it was exactly as it has all been described." Accordingly, he does not dwell further on this historical spectacle. Having waited in vain at Aix-la-Chapelle for the Emperor's decision, the Nuremberg representatives took him with them, on October 28th, to Cologne, where at last, on November 12th, he received the deed of confirmation. The Nurembergers continued to treat him with the same hospitality at Aix-la-Chapelle and Cologne as they had done before at Brussels; and Dürer appears to have thought

* It is engraved in Narrey's *Albert Dürer*, Paris, 1866, p. 113. Catalogue of the Reiset-Aumale Collection, No. 316.

† Waagen, *Treasures of Art*, i. 235.

a great deal of their refusal to take anything from him during his five weeks' residence with them, either for board, lodging, or journeys.

At Cologne, he mentions the picture in the Cathedral as the principal sight, and adds: "I gave two white pfenning to have the picture opened that Master Stephan painted at Cologne"—a short remark which derives considerable importance from its having led to the discovery of the name of the painter, Stephan Lochner, who executed this celebrated altar-piece towards the middle of the fifteenth century. Dürer admired "the princes' ball and the banquet," which were given to the Emperor at Cologne on November 4th. He was indefatigable in his attentions to the distinguished and influential personages of the imperial suite, either by making them presents of engravings or by doing sketches for them. It was at this time that he drew large, on wood, the arms of Lorenz Staiber, one of the Court functionaries—a service he repeated for him again later at Antwerp, which explains the existence of two different woodcuts of the same arms, both by Dürer.* Notwithstanding his intimacy with these grand personages, he renewed his intercourse with his cousin, the goldsmith Niklas, and his family, on the most friendly terms.

On November 14th Dürer embarked in a boat and went slowly down the Rhine to Nymwegen, "a beautiful city, with a fine church and a well-situated castle." Then, by the Waal, he reached Heerewaarden, "where are two towers." On the 2nd of November, however, when he and his companions wished to continue their journey on the Maas, they were overtaken by a violent storm at Bommel, and were obliged to hire horses from a peasant and ride without any saddles to Bois-le-Duc (Herzogenbusch). He speaks of

* Bartsch, 167, 168. Retberg, 240, 241. B. Hausmann, *A. Dürers Kupferstich*, &c., 92. See *Dürers Briefe, Tagebücher*, &c., pp. 99 and 109.

this place as "a pretty town, with an extremely beautiful church, and strongly fortified." The church he refers to was the Gothic Church of St. John, for the most part the work of the celebrated architect and engraver, Alard du Hameel. Upon the news of Dürer's arrival, the goldsmiths of the town came and showed him great honour. The journey now lay across country to Baarle, where they intended to sleep; but, as they could not come to terms with the landlord, they went on during the night to Hoogstraten. Dürer finally reached Antwerp again on November 22nd, after an absence of seven weeks. He went, as before, to the hostelry of Jobst Plankfelt, where his wife rendered him an account of her expenses while he was away, and at the same time gave him the sad news that her purse, containing a little money and some keys, had been cut from her girdle at the Frauenkirche.

Hardly had he got back to Antwerp when he learned that the high tides had washed ashore an enormous whale at Zierikzee, in Zeeland. The opportunity of seeing such a wonder of nature could not possibly be neglected, and he accordingly set out in order to obtain a view of it, riding first of all, on December 3rd, to Bergen-op-Zoom. There he bought, among other things, "a fine Flemish handkerchief, as a headgear for my wife." In this head-dress—so well known from the pictures of the Flemish school—he represented her in the likeness which he took after his return. It is done with the silver-point on grey prepared paper, and is three-fourths life-size. Frau Agnes is looking straight before her with a very complacent air, and has become rather stout and thick-set with advancing years. The drawing is in the Berlin Museum,* and bears the following inscription: "Albert Dürer drew this of his wife in her Flemish dress, at Antwerp, in the year 1521, when they had been married twenty-seven years." At Bergen,

* No. 344 in the Posonyi Catalogue.

as everywhere else, Dürer was speedily recognised. He drew there in his sketch-book a "servant-girl and an old lady." The leaf is in the Reiset-Aumale Collection (No. 315). On one side are the heads of a young and of an old woman, with the words "*Zu pergen*" ("at Bergen"); on the other side there is a third likeness of a woman, with the same inscription, and another of a young girl in a peculiar cap, with the words *zu der gus in selant* ("at Goes in Zeeland"). This is "the servant-girl in her costume" whom he drew at Goes on December 7th.

In the course of his journeyings backwards and forwards, Dürer was always meeting with Nuremberg merchants, who kept him company and were ever ready to assist him when necessary. Thus at Bergen he borrowed money of the same Sebastian Imhoff, whom he had met at Venice in 1506; and in the danger which he encountered at sea when endeavouring to land at Arnemuiden, he had for his companion a Nuremberger, George Kötzler, who belonged to an influential family, and had extensive commercial connections. Dürer describes very graphically what happened at this landing: "Just as we touched the shore and had thrown out our cable, and were, indeed, in the very act of disembarking, a large ship bore down heavily upon us. As there was a great press, I let every one land before me, so that soon no one except myself, George Kötzler, two old women, and the skipper with a little boy remained on the vessel. Meantime, the other craft still dragging heavily against us, and myself and the others on board not being able to land, the cable broke, and at the same moment a violent gust of wind drove our ship back from the shore. We all shouted for help, but no one would venture to come; and the wind carried us out to sea again. Then the skipper tore his hair and cried out, for his men had all landed, and the ship was without a crew. Great was our alarm and distress, for the wind was

strong, and there were not more than six people in the ship. So I spoke to the skipper, and told him he must take heart and have hope in God, and consider what could be done. He then said that if he could hoist the little sail he would try to regain the land. So we all helped, and with a great effort managed to set the sail, and make again for the landing-place; and when those on the shore, who had already given us up, saw the success of our efforts, they came to our assistance, and we soon landed." The coolness and confidence displayed on this occasion by Dürer finds a psychological parallel in the pious reliance on God to which Goethe abandoned himself when exposed, in the course of his journey in Italy, to the perils of a tempest off Capri.

"Middelburg is an important town; it has an exceedingly beautiful Town Hall, with a superb tower, and there is great art displayed in everything. In the Abbey are very costly and beautiful sedilia, and a superb stone triforium; there is also a pretty parish church. Altogether it is a charming town to make sketches of. Zeeland is pretty and wonderful to see on account of the water, which is higher than the land." In the Premonstratensian Abbey at Middelburg, on the island of Walcheren, Dürer saw the large altar-piece by Gossaert of Maubeuge, called Jan de Mabuse, which he finds "not so good in the drawing (*Hauptstreichen*) as in the painting"—that is, weaker in the modelling of the heads than in the colouring. This picture represented the 'Descent from the Cross,' and was burnt in 1568. It was probably an early work of this celebrated contemporary of Dürer's, who in his first, and hitherto little appreciated, works followed entirely the old style, and rivalled in dignity and in brilliancy of execution Rogier van der Weyden and Quentin Massys. To him belong the best of the designs for the miniatures in the Breviary of Cardinal Domenico Grimani at Venice, which were attributed first to Jan van Eyck and then to Mem-

ling.* With a longer residence in Italy, Mabuse adopted more and more a free and even fantastic style, to the loss of his primitive qualities, freshness of feeling and brilliancy of colouring. He must have been abroad while Dürer was in the Netherlands, or the latter would have met him somewhere, and would not have failed to mention the fact. Gossaert died at Antwerp on October 1st, 1532.

It was not, however, to become acquainted with works of art that Dürer undertook the hardships and dangers of a sea voyage in winter, but to see the great fish at Zierikzee; and when he arrived there safely, on December 9th, it had been washed away again by the tide. So he returned cheerfully to Bergen. But this journey to Zeeland was, as we shall see, destined to leave some sorrowful reminiscences behind it. When he got back to Antwerp on December 14th, he found a slight compensation awaiting him for his disappointed expectations. In return for a present of three of his books, he received from a certain Lazarus von Ravenspurg a large fish-scale, five snail shells, some small dried fishes, some white coral, and other similar curiosities which Dürer took pleasure in collecting. What he particularly delighted in were Indian nuts—that is, cocoa-nuts—and very large horns or antlers. He painted the likeness of this new acquaintance, whom he calls Lazarus Ravenspurg. One of the leaves of the little sketch-book, which formerly belonged to M. Ambroise Firmin-Didot, had on it what was probably the sketch for this portrait; at least the somewhat mutilated name at the top can hardly be read otherwise than ". . . *rus rovenspurger gemacht zw anttorff*" (". . . rus Rovenspurger done at Antwerp"). By the side of this excellent portrait is a sketch of a peculiar tower with a cup-shaped top, terminating in a tapering spire, like the towers of Hussite

* The Breviary is in the Library of St. Mark at Venice. On the reverse side of folio 824 can be read, among the architectural designs above St. Catharine disputing with the Alexandrian divines, the name COSART.

buildings in Bohemia.* On the back of the leaf there are two studies for the half-figure of a young woman. There was also, in the same collection, another leaf from the little sketch-book, on which is represented the half-length figure of a man very like this Ravenspurg, with the inscription "*zw antorff*, 1521;" and by the side of the likeness, a view on the Rhine, stated to be "*pey andernach fom rein*" ("near Andernach, on the Rhine"), which was probably done during the homeward journey. On the back of the leaf are two lions drawn with a masterly hand.†

Dürer also took part at Antwerp in the diversions of the coming Carnival. "Early on Carnival Sunday" (February 10th), he writes, "the goldsmiths invited me and my wife to dinner. There were many persons of distinction assembled, and they had prepared a rich banquet, and treated me with the greatest respect." And in the evening he was invited by the former burgomaster of the town to a brilliant masquerade. Among the splendid masques there, Dürer very naïvely singles out for praise that of Tommaso Bombelli, which he had himself designed shortly before. "I did him," he says, "two sheets full of very beautiful little masques." He also designed some costumes for the masquerade for the factor and officials of the Fuggers' House. These were probably slightly coloured pen-drawings, like the set representing five Irish soldiers and peasants, drawn about the same time, and now in the Berlin Museum.‡ The commission given to Dürer by the Mercers' Guild testifies to the con-

* There is a facsimile engraving of it by Baudran in Narrey's *A. Dürer*, Paris, 1866.

† These drawings of which we have been speaking were sold, one for 5100 francs, and the other for 5500, at the sale of the Firmin-Didot Collection, to the Berlin Museum, where they now are.

‡ No. 345 in the Posonyi Catalogue. At the top are the monogram and date, 1521, and the following inscription: "This is how soldiers are dressed in Ireland, behind England. This is how the peasants are dressed in Ireland." ("*Also gand dy kriegs man in Irlandia hinder engeland. Also gand dy pawern In Irlandyen.*")

sideration in which his art was held. He mentions himself that he had done a sitting figure of 'St. Nicholas' for this the largest and most wealthy of the merchant corporations. Particulars about it may be learned from certain documents and accounts which are still in existence. The Guild wished to have a chasuble worked for the celebration of the services at the altar of their patron saint in the Frauenkirche, which should be more beautiful than all the others, even than that belonging to the Chapel of the Three Kings, which was the chapel of the municipality. After rejecting the designs of two other artists, they accepted Dürer's.* Perhaps a drawing on one of the album-leaves, which is in the Berlin Museum,† representing the small figure of a bishop, seated, full-face, was a sketch for this very 'St. Nicholas.' On the same side of the leaf is the likeness of some other unknown person, with a fur cap on his head; and on the back of the leaf is a dog lying down, with the inscription, "*zw Antorff*" ("at Antwerp").

Dürer was too much in the habit of working ever to have remained idle even while on his travels. Accordingly we find him continually occupied during the latter part of his stay at Antwerp in painting small pictures, which he generally gave away, and but rarely sold. It is surprising that scarcely any of these works should be in existence. Those painted in water-colours on fine canvas were naturally soon destroyed. Such most likely was the fate of the 'Child,' an 'Infant Christ' probably, which he gave to Signor Francisco, "the little or new Factor for Portugal," as he calls him, the associate, or perhaps the successor, of Brandan.

* "Betaelt by Albrecht Durre van eenen Sinter Claes te beworpen by Heynriek Blockhuys onser ouderman xviii. sc. ix. den." Leon de Burbure, *Bulletins de l'Académie de Bruxelles*, 2nd Series, vol. xxvii. pp. 343 and 350. *Dürers Briefe*, p. 112, l. 7, and p. 227.

† No. 346 in the Posonyi Catalogue.

One painting of this kind has, however, been preserved, an admirable portrait of an old man, nearly full-face, with a long white beard under the chin, partly covering the grey fur border of his dress: he wears a red cap, which comes down over his ears. On the dark background, to the left, are the date 1520, and the monogram, both genuine. This water-colour painting, done on very fine canvas, is in the collection of drawings at the Louvre.*

Dürer also painted several pictures in oil during his journey. "I have done a good head of St. Veronica in oil-colours, which is worth twelve florins, and have given it to Francisco of Portugal. I have since painted another in oil, better than the first, and have given it to the Factor Brandan of Portugal." These were Heads of Christ crowned with thorns, which Dürer presented to his Portuguese friends as souvenirs. We can imagine pretty well what they were like. The pictures could only have been of a moderate size, as Dürer had cases made for them. Of the likenesses which he painted in oils at Antwerp, one at least has been preserved, which he thus speaks of in the spring of 1521: "I have taken the likeness of Bernhard von Ressen in oil-colours. He has paid me eight florins for it, and made my wife a present of a crown, besides giving Susanna a florin worth twenty-four stivers." This is no doubt the portrait in the Dresden Gallery, No. 1725, of a man about thirty-five years of age, beardless, with bony, irregular features and small bright eyes. On the background, which is a dull red, are the date and monogram. His hat and fur coat are black. In his left hand he holds a letter, of the address on which the beginning of each line can be read: "*Den— pernh— zw—*," which must mean "Bernhard von

* Reiset Catalogue, No. 503. It was at one time in the Labensky Collection at St. Petersburg, and was sold to the Louvre by M. Audenet, in 1852, for 1000 francs.

Ressen at Antwerp." The uninteresting features of this individual have acquired no pictorial charm even under Dürer's hand. The flesh is modelled in grey, and the whole of the colouring has a hard, dry tone, which was doubtless there originally, for the paint is in a very perfect state of preservation. Dürer's long neglect of oil-painting, and the want of colours prepared by himself, must have made it very difficult for him to succeed in such work.

His mere sketches, however, were a very different matter. Of the vast number of likenesses which, irrespective of those in his little sketch-book, he, by his own testimony, drew on separate sheets, only a few relatively can be pointed out, and these are mostly without a name; while, on the other hand, there are several of which no mention is made in the Journal. Thus he received a Philip's florin from Hans Pfaffrath of Dantzig, for taking his portrait in charcoal; but all we know of Hans Pfaffrath is a very excellent pen-drawing of the same period, now in the possession of the painter Bendemann, on which is written, in Dürer's hand "*Hans pfaffrot van dantzgen* 1520 *ein starkman*" ("Hans Pfaffrath of Dantzig, 1520, a strong man"). In the Berlin Cabinet is a masterly drawing of the same date, done in two different-coloured chalks, representing a young beardless man with piercing eyes, pointed nose and chin, and wearing a hat the brim of which is turned up. Also to be noted among many others is the half-length of a youth in a wide hat, with knotted ribbons hanging down over his breast, a fine pen-drawing in the Kunsthalle at Hamburg. The splendid silver-point drawing of a negress in the Uffizii at Florence is undoubtedly the same as the Factor Brandan's Moorish woman, whose likeness Dürer took. She is seen full-face, and wears a singular head-dress, and at the top is written in Dürer's hand, "1521, *Katharina, allt* 20 *Jar*" ("1521, Katharina, aged 20"). Though Dürer used to give

portraits or other drawings to those at whose request he painted them, he expected presents in return, and was annoyed when he did not receive them. All his acquaintances were not so liberal as the Portuguese gentlemen, and towards the end of his stay at Antwerp he states: "I have done a great many drawings and other things now and again to please people, but have received nothing in return for the greater part of my work."

At the same time he did a great many sketches for his own use as studies, for he was urged on while travelling, as Goethe says in speaking of himself, "by the German characteristic of wishing to learn and to do rather than to enjoy." He makes a note one day, at the end of the year, of a gift of three stivers to a man whom he had sketched, and who must consequently have sat to him as a model. This is perhaps the old man, the original of the celebrated life-size chiaroscuro drawing in the Albertina. He is leaning his head, covered with a cap, upon his right hand, and is looking wearily down. On the margin at the top is the inscription in Dürer's hand, "*Der man was alt 93 jor und noch gesunt und fermuglich zw antorff*" ("The man was 93 years of age, and yet well and hearty, at Antwerp"); and on the left is the date, 1521, and the monogram. The modelling of the deeply-wrinkled countenance, and the life-like softness of the long flowing beard, are a marvel of pictorial execution. The paper has a peculiar violet shade, and is the same as Dürer often used at Antwerp, and on which he worked with Indian ink and white lead.* As there was no room for the man's left shoulder, he sketched him in pencil upon another sheet, which is also in the

* This drawing has been lithographed by F. Krammer. By the side of the original is a deceptive copy, dated 1519, which came from the Praun Cabinet. It is an old Nuremberg forgery, and was engraved in reverse by Prestel in 1777.

Albertina, in the same attitude but on a smaller scale, and showing only the upper part of the left arm; while at the side he drew the lower part of the arm life-size, together with the hand, the forefinger of which is pointing to the segment of a disk. Dürer appears to have studied the remarkable appearance of this old man so minutely with the idea of making some future use of it. The Albertina also possesses sketches of a woman's cloak hanging up on a peg; a reading-desk with large books, like that in the engraved portrait of Erasmus; and a skull with the jaw-bone lying sideways, all done in the same way and on the same kind of paper, and dated 1521. The head of another old man in the Berlin Museum * is treated in the same manner, and bears the same date. Among many other studies of this year, we will only mention a 'Weeping Cherub' in the Blasius Collection, with its little wings folded in front of it, as if in sorrow: it is nearly life-size, done in chalk upon a blue-grey ground, and heightened with white with the brush, and has been engraved by Loedel. The expression of the face distorted by crying is very true to nature.

At the same time Dürer did not neglect the opportunity of selling his works of art. A commission agent from Nuremberg appears to have been the first to make large purchases from him at Antwerp, and it is thus we learn the price asked by him for his engravings and woodcuts. The books, such as the 'Little Passion,' as well as the three large series of the 'Life of the Virgin,' the 'Great Passion,' and the 'Apocalypse,' he sold at a quarter of a florin; the Passion in Copper, at half a florin. The other separate engravings he valued according to the size of the paper on which they were printed. He gave eight whole sheets, twenty half-sheets, or forty-five quarter-sheets, for a florin. In the first

* No. 343 in the Posonyi Catalogue.

category were, for instance, the 'Adam and Eve,' the 'Hercules,' the 'St. Eustace,' the 'Nemesis' or 'Great Fortune,' the 'St. Jerome in his Chamber,' and the 'Melancholia;' in the second, the three Virgins, of the years 1519 and 1520,* the 'St. Veronica,' of 1513, the 'St. Antony,' of 1519, and the 'Nativity,' of 1504; the third category included all the small sheets. The impressions were printed upon a paper very much the shape of small official writing-paper. Unfortunately, the broad white margins round the engravings have hardly ever been preserved; they were regularly cut away, and as closely as possible, by the collectors of the last century.

As Dürer made fresh acquaintances and gained new friends, the sale of his works proportionately increased. Still he continued to be very generous with his engravings and series of woodcuts. If any one bought one impression, he added a second to it, and his munificent presents were not always followed by corresponding ones in return. It must, however, have flattered him to see how his works were everywhere admired and held in honour by those who received them. There is, for instance, a copy of the 'Little Passion' on the title-page of which Cornelius Grapheus, the learned Recorder of Antwerp, has carefully noted that he received it as a present from the celebrated master's own hands, on February 7th, 1521.† Grapheus, in return, makes Dürer a present of Luther's new work on the Babylonian Captivity, for which the master shows his gratitude by another gift, this time of nothing less than his three large series. Dürer himself was continually making purchases, either of materials and other things connected with his art, or of certain objects which appeared to him worth having. It is difficult indeed in this case to define the limits between

* Bartsch, 36, 37, 38.

† "Albertus Durer pictor opt. max. C. Grapheo dono dedit propria ipsius manu vii. die febr. an. MDXXI." According to Heller (p. 605) this copy belonged to A. A. Renouard, at Paris.

the amateur, the collector, and the dealer. For Dürer not only sold his own works, but took with him the works of other artists for the same purpose, and often obtained specimens of foreign art in exchange and by purchase. In short, he traded in works of art of all sorts. Frequently he bought Italian works (*wälsche Kunst*), which means, no doubt, Italian engravings. On the other hand, he sold a considerable number of Schäufelein's woodcuts in large lots at a time. Once, for instance, he parted with two reams and four quires, all for three florins. Several of Hans Baldung Grün's works went for one florin; and he also gave one of that artist's productions to Joachim de Patenier. He must consequently have had a stock of different things which he disposed of as he did of his own works. He once gave in exchange a St. Veronica painted by himself in oil, and "an Adam and Eve painted by Franz,"* both together valued at fourteen florins. We must not therefore regard indiscriminately every work of art which he parted with as being his own production.

As the spring drew near, Dürer began to think of returning home. He made purchases for his friends, and sent a great bale containing the treasures he had collected to Nuremberg, to the elder Hans Imhoff. But first he must see the time-honoured cities of Bruges and Ghent, so rich in Flemish art. Accordingly, on April 6th, he went to Bruges in company with the painter Jan Proost, or Prevost, who in 1525 painted the 'Last Judgment' for the Sheriffs' Chamber there. Proost belonged to Bergen, *i.e.* Mons in Hainault, but had been long domiciled in Bruges, whence Dürer's idea that he was a native of Bruges. Dürer, too, always writes the name Ploos. At this painter's house,

* Perhaps Maximilian Frans, whom Jan Prevost or Proost received as a pupil at Bruges in 1506, and who became a master in 1524. W. H. J. Weale, *Le Beffroi*, iv. 93–97. Taurel, *De Christelijke Kunst*, 161.

in the Oostghistelhoof Strasse, Dürer found a hospitable welcome and sumptuous entertainment. The artists took him to "the Emperor's House," that is, the spacious old palace of the Dukes of Burgundy, where he saw "the chapel painted by Rüdiger, and pictures by some great old master." As the former chapel of the palace had been already pulled down, this probably only means a portable altar, with wings, of Rogier van der Weyden's, like those which used often to be called "chapels." Perhaps it was Charles V.'s so-called little travelling altar, now in the Museum at Berlin, that Dürer saw. There is at any rate in the collection of Dr. Blasius a leaf from Dürer's little sketch-book, on one side of which is a stately caparisoned saddle-horse, with rich trappings on his head, and on the other, five different patterns of ornamental pavements, such as are seen in old Flemish paintings. One of these patterns, which is very carefully treated, corresponds with the pavement of the travelling altar. Above, to the left, there is also a sketch of a dog's head held by two hands. Dürer was next taken to the Church of St. James, where he saw other splendid pictures by Rogier and Hugo van der Goes, "who were both great masters." In the Church of our Lady he saw "the figure of the Virgin in alabaster, done by Michelangelo at Rome." It adorned the mortuary chapel of the Moscron family, and is still in the same place. When Michelangelo's biographer, a generation later, confounded the marble figure, which had been taken out of Italy, with a bronze one, he made a very natural mistake.

"Afterwards," continues Dürer, "they took me into many churches, that I might see all the good pictures, of which there are an abundance at Bruges; and after I had seen all the works of Johannes and others, we came at last to the Painters' Chapel, in which there are fine things." It is remarkable that Dürer, while he thus mentions Jan van Eyck, says not a word of Hans Memling, whose masterpieces he

must have seen in the Hospital of St. John. This silence is the more striking, since we possess an unmistakable proof of his admiration for Memling in a leaf of the little sketch-book now in the Kunsthalle at Bremen. It is the head of a woman, full-face, and looking down, and is exactly of the type of Memling's Virgins. Indeed, it appears to me to be borrowed direct from the centre panel of the only triptych in St. John's Hospital, which is signed with Memling's full name and the date 1479, viz., the 'Adoration of the Three Kings.' On the right of this sketch is another one on a smaller scale, of a woman seen sideways, probably a study of costume from some picture. The same leaf has on the back a large mortar, which looks like a siege-piece on its carriage. Of the treasures of art which Dürer saw in the chapel of the united guilds of the painters, saddlers, and glaziers in the Nordland Strasse, the only one left in Bruges is the picture by Jan van Eyck of his wife, now in the Academy. Dürer goes on: "Afterwards the painters prepared a banquet for me, and I went with them to the Guild-hall, where many honourable personages were assembled, merchants and goldsmiths as well as painters. They made me sup with them, gave me presents, sought my acquaintance, and in every way paid me great honour. Two brothers, members of the Council, presented me with twelve stoups of wine, and the whole company, more than sixty persons, escorted me home with a great many torches."

His reception at Ghent the next day, April 9th, was not less distinguished. "And when I arrived at Ghent," he says, "the dean of the Painters' Guild came to me, and brought with him the chief masters in the art of painting, who showed me great honour, received me magnificently, and offered me their goodwill and services; afterwards we all supped together. Early on Wednesday morning, April 10th, they took me up St. John's Tower, whence I looked down

over the vast and wonderful city, where I had been at once treated as a great artist." In this happy frame of mind he visited "*des Johannes Tafel*," that is, the celebrated altar-piece, the masterpiece of the brothers Van Eyck, which they had executed for the mortuary chapel of the Burgomaster Jodocus Vyts, and a part of which is now in the Museum at Berlin. "It is a very splendid and grandly conceived painting," exclaims Dürer; "Eve, Mary, and God the Father are particularly fine." It is significant of Dürer's taste at that time that he most admired the grand figures in the upper row of panels, the two principal seated ones, with their splendidly arranged draperies, and the simple womanly attitude of Eve standing on the right. As to the other panels, filled with a number of figures, he was probably somewhat disconcerted by the confused and as yet incomplete arrangement of the composition. Dürer's next remark refers to the lions, which he says were always kept at Ghent in a walled den, and one of which he drew with the silver-point. The leaf of his sketch-book containing it is in the Imperial Library at Vienna. The lion, of which we give an engraving on the next page, is on one side; while on the other is a girl with her hair tied in a strange fashion, and the words "*Cölnisch gepend*" ("Painted at Cologne"), and also a sketch of Dürer's wife in her travelling dress, with the heading, "*awff dem rin mein weib pey popart*" ("my wife, on the Rhine near Boppart"). So that he drew the accompanying likeness of his wife (see p. 203), now growing old, on board a boat on the Rhine near Boppart, during their journey home. He speaks of Ghent as a handsome and wonderful city, in which he saw many rare things. "The painters, with their dean," he adds, "did not leave me, but took their meals with me morning and night; they paid for everything, and were most friendly to me." On the 11th of April, at an early hour, he started back to Antwerp, having

A LION.

(From the Silver-point Drawing in the Imperial Library at Vienna, done at Ghent in 1521.)

evidently visited Bruges and Ghent merely in order to see the sights.

Among the numerous artists with whom Dürer had friendly intercourse at Antwerp, Joachim de Patenier stands pre-eminent. A pupil perhaps of Gerard David, he devoted himself even more exclusively than David to landscape, so that the little figures in his foregrounds sink down gradually to mere decoration; while the distances, owing to the skilful treatment of the aërial perspective, unfold themselves with a more and more liquid richness. Patenier's keen sympathy for Nature could not fail to perceive Dürer's promise as a landscapist, as shown in his early engravings, and this was probably the reason of his receiving the Nuremberg artist with such eagerness and respect. Dürer calls him in return "the good landscape painter," the first time that the expression occurs in literature. He repeatedly took Joachim's likeness, though he only mentions having done so once, with the silver-point. This drawing does not exist, but the engraved bust of Patenier of 1521, which has been classed among Dürer's works and described by Bartsch (No. 108), is evidently done from it or from some other drawing by the master. It represents a slender, beardless man, with benevolent features. The engraver was probably Egidius Sadeler; but that the drawing which served as a model was by Dürer is indubitable. There is in the Weimar Museum another excellent likeness by him of Patenier, in a limp broad-brimmed hat. It is a nearly life-size drawing in black chalk, and was also done in 1521. On May 5th in that year Patenier celebrated his second marriage with Johanna Noyts. There was a grand wedding, to which Dürer was invited, and due honour shown to him, and where he saw two pretty dramatic performances, "very devout and spiritual, especially the first." Other friendly artists, too, often entertained him with great liberality. He

PORTRAIT OF DÜRER'S WIFE IN HER TRAVELLING COSTUME (1521).
(*From the Silver-point Drawing in the Imperial Library at Vienna.*)

mentions farther on having "heightened with white four small 'St. Christophers' on grey paper for Master Joachim." As this subject was very popular, the drawings were no doubt intended to serve as models for the figures which Patenier put into the foregrounds of his landscapes. In this we see the first beginning of that division of labour in painting, figures by one hand introduced into landscapes by another, which became so common in the following century among the landscape painters of the Netherlands. The two pretty little engravings by Dürer, representing, in different ways, St. Christopher wading through the water with the Infant Jesus on his shoulder, also bear the date 1521. Probably they were done after studies made for Patenier.* In another part of his Journal, Dürer mentions having sketched three representations of 'Christ bearing the Cross,' and two of 'Christ on the Mount of Olives,' each on a half-sheet of paper, which can only have been designs for compositions intended for the benefit of some less inventive fellow-artist. There are two excellent pen-drawings in the Uffizii at Florence, full of figures, and each giving a different representation of the march to Calvary. Both are dated 1520, and are upon oblong half-sheets of paper. In one, Jesus has sunk down under the weight of the cross; in the other, He stands holding the cross upright. Two similar sketches of 'Christ in the Garden of Olives' are in the Städel Institute at Frankfort. The one already mentioned shows Jesus extended flat upon the ground, and bears the genuine date of 1521; in the other He is raising His hands despondingly to heaven, and the date is distinctly 1524—perhaps, however, a slip of the pen. Two different designs for the 'Entombment,' both of 1521, form pendants to these both in

* 'St. Christopher looking back,' Bartsch, 51; and 'St. Christopher with the Chapel,' Bartsch, 52.

shape and treatment; one is at Florence, the other at Frankfort.

Dürer also frequented "Master Gerhard the Illuminator." This is the famous miniature painter, Gerard Horebout, who did a great deal of work for the Archduchess Margaret, and from whose studio issued the Grimani Breviary; for there is no doubt he is identical with the "Girardo de Guant" of the Morelli Anonymus, who himself saw the celebrated Codex at Cardinal Grimani's in the year 1521. Dürer also mentions Gerard's "daughter, eighteen years of age, called Susanna." She had illuminated a small drawing of the Saviour, for which Dürer gave her a florin, and thought that "it was a great marvel that a woman could do so much." Susanna afterwards became famous as an artist, particularly in the execution of very small works; she was invited by Henry VIII., who promised her a high salary, to England, where she lived many years in high favour with the whole Court, and died rich and greatly esteemed.*

On May 30th, Dürer saw the magnificent procession of Corpus Christi at Antwerp. On June 5th, he gave a second great package to the carrier, to be delivered to Hans Imhoff at Nuremberg. But before leaving himself, he wished to try his fortune once more with the Regent of the Netherlands. Accordingly he went again to Mechlin with his art stores, and put up there with the painter Heinrich Kelderman, who kept the inn called 'The Golden Head.' Immediately the painters and sculptors of the city hastened to entertain him, and pay him every honour at their gatherings. He was also invited by the celebrated gun-founder, Hans Poppenreuter of Cologne, Master of the Ordnance to the Emperor Charles V., in whose house he saw some remarkable things,

* Lodovico Guicciardini, *Descrittione di tutti i Paesi Bassi*, Anversa, 1567, 98–99.

and it was perhaps here that he drew in his sketch-book the cannon we have already spoken of. But no success followed his interview with the art-loving Archduchess Margaret. She showed him, it is true, her magnificent collection of works of art and her valuable library, but she expressed so much dissatisfaction with the Emperor's portrait, which he had brought with him for her, that he did not venture to present it. When he finally made up his accounts, and came to the conclusion that the result of his intercourse with both the upper and lower classes in the Netherlands had only been a loss to him, he could not help letting the complaint drop from his pen,—"And, above all, the Lady Margaret, in return for the presents I made her and all I did for her, gave me nothing."

On his return to Antwerp, which took place immediately, Dürer became personally acquainted with his most celebrated successor, his Flemish rival, Lucas van Leyden. "Master Lucas," he writes, "an engraver on copper, has invited me to table. He is a little man, a native of Leyden in Holland, and is now at Antwerp." He mentions farther on that he took Lucas's portrait in pencil; and how glad he was to acknowledge that artist's merits is seen by the fact that, in order to obtain a complete set of his works, he gave him impressions of his own worth eight florins.

On July 2nd Dürer was about to leave Antwerp, when the King of Denmark sent for him to come immediately and take his portrait. Christian II., surnamed the Bad, was also King of Sweden and Norway. He had married a sister of Charles V., and, being driven from his kingdom in consequence of the massacres at Stockholm, had come to Brussels to seek aid from the Emperor. Dürer witnessed the admiration of the people of Antwerp for the King, on account of his being such a fine handsome man, and the courage he had shown in traversing his enemies' country

with only two attendants. He drew a likeness of the monarch in charcoal, and was commanded by him to dinner, and treated very graciously. The next day he, at Christian's own wish, followed him to Brussels, and saw the splendid reception which the Emperor and the Regent Margaret had prepared for him, as well as the brilliant banquet given him on the day following. And when Christian returned these courtesies on July 7th, and gave a grand banquet to his illustrious relations, he invited Dürer to take part in the entertainment. Dürer had in the meantime looked about for a painter who could furnish him with a small panel, some colours, and a colour-grinder, in order that he might paint the Danish King in oils. For this portrait he received thirty florins. He does not name the painter to whom he had recourse, but only his apprentice, one Bartholomæus, whom Dürer liberally rewarded for his help. This Bartholomæus must have been the young Bartholomew van Conincxloo, and as his family were related to the Orleys, his master could have been none other than Bernhard van Orley. Dürer, of course, had not failed to present the Danish King with the best of his works to the value of five florins.

At last, on Friday, July 12th, Dürer began his homeward journey from Brussels, after having with difficulty obtained a driver. The journey lay through Maestricht to Aix-la-Chapelle, and thence, after the driver, who was unacquainted with the road, had missed his way, through Jülich to Cologne. With their arrival there Dürer's Journal comes to an end. We have only extracted the more important facts noted down in it, and have brought them as far as possible into harmony with other accounts. Our narrative is in no way intended to supersede or embellish the faithful picture which Dürer gives of himself in his own words. Two points only, on which the note-book furnishes very important information,

have remained for the moment unnoticed. One is Dürer's connection with the Reformation, and the other his illness. Both are questions too deeply connected with the master's destiny, to admit of a mere passing examination; they will be treated at length, and more appropriately, in the two following chapters.

From the way in which Dürer managed his affairs in the Netherlands, giving away his works with such generosity, throwing fees right and left, and thinking more of collecting than selling, it is not astonishing that his expenses exceeded his receipts. From time to time, as occasion required, he drew upon his credit with the Imhoff house, and on July 1st, 1521, the evening before his intended departure from Antwerp, he borrowed, through young Alexander Imhoff, enough to raise the amount of his debt to a round sum of a hundred florins. In return he gave a bill, which was to be presented to him for payment at Nuremberg. The bales of goods which he sent to Nuremberg had been forwarded to the head of the house there, Hans Imhoff the elder. Dürer's intercourse with the Imhoffs, which was of long standing, owed more to the intervention of Wilibald Pirkheimer than even to the family love of art, for the relations between the two patrician houses were of much older date. When Wilibald's father was absent at Eichstädt, the then head of the Imhoff family—that Hans, for whom Adam Kraft executed his Ciborium—took charge of the Pirkheimers' business in Nuremberg, and also looked after the house in which Dürer was born. The connecting links were drawn even more closely together under this Imhoff's son and successor, Hans, whom we call the elder, when Wilibald Pirkheimer's favourite daughter Felicitas married, on January 23rd, 1515, his son, Hans the younger. Dürer was easily drawn into this friendship: he stood godfather to the first male issue of the marriage, Hieronymus, who was born

in 1518, and died in 1571. It was for this godchild that Dürer bought a pretty scarlet cap at Antwerp.*

The list of presents Dürer brought with him from Antwerp, and his acccount of how he distributed them, are of importance, chiefly because they make us acquainted with the circle in which he moved at home, and which evidently included the most select society of Nuremberg. First, there was Caspar Nützel, the glory of that ancient family, and soon to be the most powerful personage in the Republic; he was at that time Captain-General (*Obrister Hauptmann*), and three years afterwards he became second Losunger. His sturdy wife Clara, who is also spoken of, bore him no less than twenty-one children. Next we have Wilibald Pirkheimer and his two married daughters, Felicitas, already mentioned, and Barbara, the wife of Bernhard Straub, of Leipzig; Lazarus Spengler, the secretary of the Council, and his brother, and their two wives; a lady of the Löffelholz family, probably Katharina, the wife of the distinguished patrician, Thomas Löffelholz, whose maiden name was Rummel, and who was a sister of Dürer's mother-in-law; the young councillor, Christoph Coler, and his wife, a daughter of the house of Rieter and niece of Pirkheimer's late wife, from whose son, Paulus Coler, Wilibald Imhoff afterwards obtained some drawings of Dürer's. Last of all, the honourable councillors and septemvirs, Jacob Muffel and Hieronymus Holzschuher, whose likenesses Dürer painted in 1526.

There still exists one portrait by Dürer in oil, on panel,

* *Dürers Briefe*, 127, 113, and 228. Dürer's godson was not, as I had at one time supposed in the absence of documents taken from the archives, Hans the younger's second son, Wilibald, the one who afterwards collected Dürer's works. Baron G. Imhoff has since allowed me to look at a history of his house which he has prepared from the family archives. To judge from it, the household books, especially of the elder and the younger Hans Imhoff, contain some valuable information about Dürer.

painted in 1521, which, according to the united testimony of Mündler and Waagen, is the finest known. It is in the Madrid Museum, and represents the bust of a stout man in a black coat trimmed with fur, with a broad-brimmed hat on his head and a roll of paper in his hand. The execution betrays in its minuteness the hand of one accustomed to the use of the graver, and one might almost say that the artist had worked with a magnifying glass; and yet with all this truth and precision the effect is broad and powerful. It is, in fact, the very life itself. The eyes and mouth express an indomitable energy, and show a character firm and resolute, in which there is no place for any tenderer feelings. Hair, fur, hands, the paper he holds in his left hand, all are executed with equal distinctness. The right hand only, of which nothing but the fingers are visible resting on a parapet out of sight, shows a tendency to crowd together a number of useless lines, a defect which might easily result from the constant habit of engraving on copper. All the rest is absolutely true to nature. The flesh tones of the face are of a rich brown, and the whole is warm and harmonious. With the exception of some quite small spots on the neck, the picture is in perfect preservation.*

Who is the individual on whose portrait Dürer has bestowed such exceedingly careful painting? The date 1521 naturally suggests to us one of the personages whom he boasts of having painted in the Netherlands. But this picture was never done with borrowed colours and a strange palette. To arrive at such perfection, Dürer must have had the floor of his own studio beneath his feet; he must have felt that sense of repose and contentment only to be found at home. What a difference between this portrait and that of Bernhard von Ressen at Dresden, painted in the same

* For this information I am indebted to the late Otto Mündler.

year at Antwerp! The Madrid picture was most certainly painted early in the second half of the year after Dürer's return to Nuremberg, and it is in Nuremberg that we must look for the portly figure of the burgher whom it represents. There is a strong resemblance between it and an anonymous and very poor engraving, done at a later period, of Hans Imhoff the elder, almost in the same attitude, though rather more youthful in appearance. He has curly hair, wears a black cap and fur coat, and is holding a sheet of paper in both hands; but there is the same short nose, there are the same small eyes, the chin is equally massive, the lips are full, and the lines about the mouth strongly marked.* It may be, therefore, that the Madrid picture executed with so much care, is a portrait of no other than Hans Imhoff the elder, Dürer's banker, and that it was painted in consequence of the debt contracted in the Netherlands, which it might serve in part to discharge.

* On it is the inscription, "Herr Hans Imhoff, born 1461, elected a member of the Council 1513, died 1522. Godfather, grandfather, and great-grandfather of the three Endres Imhoffs; a member of the Council and Losunger of Nuremberg." Above is a coat-of-arms with a sea-lion. Our hypothesis would have a still greater air of probability if, as I am informed, the household book of Hans Imhoff the younger really stated that Dürer took the likeness of his father.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE REFORMATION.

"For the sake of the Christian faith we have to endure humiliation and danger, for we are reviled as heretics."—DÜRER.

EVERY well-ordered State, even though it treats its citizens in a parsimonious fashion, is thoroughly well assured of their fidelity, as strict yet just parents are generally those best loved by their children. Thus Nuremberg had no better son than Dürer. In vain foreign countries offered him great honours and many pleasures. He felt himself continually drawn by some strong attraction back to his native home. His memory, like his work, is closely bound up with the history of Nuremberg.

When, in 1524, he asked the Council to take his capital of 1000 florins and pay him the interest on it, he could bring to their recollection his constant loyalty and his readiness to serve both the community at large and individual citizens in particular. And yet during the thirty years he had lived at Nuremberg he had not received five hundred florins' worth of orders, "a truly mean and ridiculous sum," he says, "and of which not more than a fifth was profit." What he had to live upon had been earned from princes and foreigners. He reminds the Council how, some years ago, he had relinquished the freedom from taxation accorded to him

by the Emperor Maximilian; how the Venetian Government, nineteen years before, had wanted to secure his services by giving him an appointment worth 200 ducats a year; how, quite recently, when he was in the Netherlands, the Council of Antwerp had offered him a yearly salary of 300 Philip's gulden; how, in both these instances, he would have been paid in addition to his salary for any special work required of him; and how, finally, he had refused all these advantageous proposals out of love for his native city, choosing rather to live there in a modest way than to be rich and thought much of elsewhere.*

Dürer, being in the habit of furnishing his learned friends with emblems and coats-of-arms for their books, could do no less for his native place, and accordingly he designed a sort of book-plate, which is decidedly the most beautiful and the most full of meaning of them all. This is the large plate of the arms of Nuremberg.† At the bottom are the two escutcheons of the city, each held by a draped angel, and above them that of the Empire, with the double-headed eagle, crowned with the imperial diadem. At the top are figures of Justice and Abundance, seated on clouds; and between them the inscription, "*Sancta Justicia*, 1521." This large fine woodcut, with a dark background, adorns the title-page of the third edition of the Nuremberg Statute-book, printed in 1521, and called the "Statutes (*Reformacion*) of the City of Nuremberg." The name and figure of "Holy Justice" might well stand with honour at the head of the municipal laws of that city. Previously, in 1518, Dürer had for the last time done honour in a large woodcut to St. Sebald, "the venerable and holy patron, helper, and protector of the imperial city of Nuremberg." The saint is represented in his pilgrim garb, standing in a richly ornamented niche,

* *Dürers Briefe*, p. 52. † Bartsch, 162; Heller, 1942.

with a triple nimbus round his head, and in his hand the model of his metropolitan church.* Above hangs a basket of fruit, and on each side are two escutcheons, that on the left bearing the arms of England and France, in reference to the saint's English extraction, and that on the right those of Nuremberg. Both plates, the ecclesiastical and the secular, have merely the date of the year, without Dürer's monogram. No doubt, however, can exist as to their authorship, and they must both be reckoned among the finest of his wood engravings. The practice which the great works undertaken for the Emperor Maximilian had given the wood engravers was of great service in their execution. In the interval, however, that elapsed between the appearance of the two, events had taken place fruitful in consequences for Nuremberg and its most remarkable men, and in which Dürer played an active part.

All the intellectual advantages which Nuremberg had to offer to an artist like Dürer she bestowed upon him with no niggard hand. The most distinguished and cultivated circles of the city were open to him; its leading citizens formed his daily society, and the first person of the Republic, "in whose senatorial figure the patriciate of the imperial cities of Germany came nearest to that of Rome," † Wilibald Pirkheimer, was his most intimate friend. It was the very contrast between the natures of the two men which appears to have attracted them irresistibly to one another. The vigorous, passionate man of learning experienced a refreshing sense of repose in the society of the delicate, gentle, and sensitive artist, while the latter found in Wilibald a stay and support. But this close friendship was also of decided importance for Dürer's social

* Bartsch, App. 21; Heller, 2024; Retberg, A. 37.

† D. F. Strauss, *Ulrich von Hutten*, 1871, 2nd edit., p. 243.

position, for it raised him more than any other German artist into the sphere of that national and intellectual life where the stream of the new ideas first began to make itself felt and to produce its earliest result.

Another prominent individual who had for a long time shared in this friendly intimacy was Lazarus Spengler, a man of very decided character, the real reformer of Nuremberg, and the composer of the hymn, "*Durch Adam's Fall ist ganz verderbt*," &c. He was "a jurist among theologians and a theologian among jurists." Born in the year 1479,* he had studied at Leipzig, and since 1507 had held the post of Secretary to the Council and Syndic, in virtue of which office he was for thirty years one of the leading personages of the imperial city. He lived in Dürer's neighbourhood in the Zisselgasse. When, in 1514, he published a German translation of Eusebius's 'Life of St. Jerome,' Dürer furnished him with a beautiful woodcut for it of the saint, seated, writing in a cave.* In return Spengler dedicated to Dürer, about the year 1520, his 'Exhortation and Instruction towards the leading of a Virtuous Life' (*Ermahnung und Unterweisung zu einem tugendhaften Wandel*),† styling him his "particular and confidential friend and brother." He goes on to assure the master that he considers him, "without any flattery, to be a man of understanding, inclined to honesty and every virtue, who has often in our daily familiar intercourse been to me in no common degree a pattern and an example to a more circumspect way

* * Bartsch, 113; Heller, 1845; Retberg, 197. The cut bears the date 1512. A second engraving of the same subject served for a fly-leaf which, with accompanying Latin and German text, was printed by Hans Glaser at Nuremberg. The only difference between it and the first engraving is that the bit of overhanging bush in the middle does not quite reach down to the mountains in the background.

† Spengler's dedication was reprinted by Campe at Nuremberg in 1830, from the rare original edition, and is translated in *Dürers Briefe*, p. 172.

of life;" and he further begs him "to improve his little book to the best of his ability, and to continue to regard him as a friend and brother."

Pirkheimer often required artistic assistance in his scientific publications, which Dürer frequently undertook to supply. In this way he designed for his friend's smaller books the fantastic border for the title-page, with elegant columns upon a black ground, and at the bottom four genii, of whom two support Pirkheimer's arms, while the others are blowing trumpets.* Pirkheimer was also fond of occupying himself in mathematical and astronomical studies, for which he needed still more the help of an artist. It was apparently for some astrological work of his that a number of small pen-drawings were done of various animals, intended probably to represent the constellations. Four of these drawings are in Dr. Blasius' Collection at Brunswick: a wild goat, which however is more like a chamois; two lions, standing in front of two jars; a dog; and a frog. Upon the other side is some writing of Pirkheimer's, of which the word "Horoscope" is still legible. Some similar sketches in the Berlin Museum formed probably a part of the same work; they include a dog, springing to the right, with, on the back of the sheet, a series of measurements, which appear to me to be in Pirkheimer's hand; the upper and under sides of a tortoise, with the word "*Schiltkrott*" (tortoise) in Dürer's early handwriting; and a cow grazing. Whether the head of a goat, with the spurious date 1510, and four cats in various attitudes, lying in wait for a mouse, belong to the same series of studies, I must leave undecided. On the other hand, an ornamental drawing in the Blasius Collection may very well have been intended to serve as the title-page for this work. It is a

* Passavant, 205; Heller, 1936; Retberg, 200. This border was first used in Plutarch's *De vitanda usura* (Nurem. Fried. Peypus, 1513); then for the *Nili sententiae morales* (1516), and for Lucian's *Piscator* (1517).

lunette, the round arch of which is formed by two genii, each holding a cornucopia in front of him; in the panel below is the medallion of a head with a rabbit on either side; at the back Pirkheimer's handwriting can again be recognised.

When Pirkheimer published his Latin translation of Ptolemy at Johannes Grüninger's at Strasburg, in the year 1525, Dürer again gave him his advice and assistance. As the work was furnished with numerous maps and illustrations, there were of course frequent discussions between the author and the publisher, as is shown by the correspondence between them which has been preserved.* Among other things, Pirkheimer writes to Grüninger about some illustration: "I wish you could have heard how Albert Dürer spoke to me about your plate, in which there is not one good stroke, and laughed at me. What honour it will do us, when it makes its appearance in Italy, and the clever painters there see it!" Grüninger replied with reference to this stricture, on March 10th, 1525: "Albert Dürer knows me well; he is also well aware that I love art, although I am no expert at it; let him if he likes despise my plate, I never pretended it was a work of art."† But Dürer did not rest content with mere criticism; he furnished Pirkheimer with a drawing for one of the woodcuts in the 'Ptolemy,' the armillary-sphere on the back of sheet 69. The sphere is surrounded by twelve heads of the winds blowing, the names of which, together with the inscription beneath, "*Non judicet Midas*," are printed in movable type.‡ On the next sheet opposite there is another sphere, in outline only, and with explanatory text. There can be no doubt that they are both Dürer's, for Johann Tscherte, the imperial architect at

* C. Becker, *Ein bisher unbekannter Holzschnitt von A. Dürer* in the *Archiv für Zeichn. Künste*, iv. 451–455.

† There is a facsimile in H. Lempertz, *Bilderhefte zur Geschichte des Bücherhandels*, No. 31.

‡ Passavant, 202; Retberg, 257.

Vienna, speaks, in two letters to Pirkheimer, of these armillary-spheres as "drawn by our common friend, Albert Dürer."* In this manner did the painter aid his friend in his scientific undertakings; while the latter gave Dürer a helping hand in his literary attempts, and willingly accepted the dedication of his books.

Pirkheimer in his turn subsequently dedicated to Dürer, on September 1st, 1527, his edition and Latin translation of the 'Characters' of Theophrastus.† He had received the little book in the Greek language as a present from the learned young prince, Picus of Mirandola, his best friend. "But," he continues, "I dedicate it in Greek and in Latin to you, who are now my best friend . . . do you, my Albert, kindly accept this picture in writing of Theophrastus's, and if you are not able to imitate it with the brush, yet at least weigh it carefully in your mind. For apart from the fact of its being not a little useful and edifying to you, it will give you plenty of matter for laughter, and amuse you in many ways. Farewell."

All this seems to me to show the intellectual tone that prevailed in this select circle of friends before the appearance of Luther occupied their attention. They worked together at the study of human nature from its moral as well as its material point of view. While Dürer was unceasingly occupied in making a profound examina-

* Those of Nov. 22, 1525, and Feb. 5, 1526. Joh. Heumann, *Documenta literaria varii argumenti*, Altorfi, 1758, pp. 279 and 281.

† Θεοφράστου χαρακτῆρες *cum interpret. latina per Bilibaldum Pirckeymherum, Norimbergae per Jo. Petreium anno* MDXXVII. The dedication is printed in the *Opera Pirkheimeri* (ed. M. Goldast, 212), and translated into German in *Dürers Briefe*, 182:—"Lepidum hunc libellum, a lepido quondam mihi amico donatum, tibi, mi lepidissime Alberte, dono dare constitui, non solum ob amicitiam nostram mutuam, sed quoniam pingendi arte admodum praecellis, cerneres etiam, quam affabre senex ille et sapiens Theophrastus humanas affectiones depingere novisset," &c.

tion of the proportions and structure of the human frame, his learned friends assisted him in the comprehension of psychological questions, and in the endeavour to delineate the emotions of the soul. After having exhausted himself up to 1513 in representing in a most vivid manner the life and sufferings of Christ, he became absorbed in the solution of the common problems of humanity. The spiritual and religious tendencies of the master were overpowered by a widely human and speculative temperament. In the composition of his male heads his chief endeavour was to accurately portray the soul and spirit of the individual—to mirror forth, in fact, the whole of his character.

He found in St. Jerome a subject exactly answering to the ideas which were passing through his mind. Painters have always delighted in representing this saint, since it afforded them an opportunity of studying the nude. But for Dürer and his age and surroundings, this learned father of the Church, so versed in the Scriptures and at the same time so critical, so erudite and yet so detached from the world, had a peculiar meaning. Several times Dürer portrayed him both on copper and on wood; and once he painted him nearly life-size. But the object of the master was not the usual religious picture; his only thought was to do a head full of character. St. Jerome in Dürer's picture is a tired old man, with a long face, short beard, and some scanty white hairs on his head. He is nearly full-face, and turns his small brown eyes to the left, while his under lip protrudes as though with an expression of contempt. Enough of the chest and shoulders is shown to allow of the purple mantle, with its majestic folds, and the cord from which usually hangs the cardinal's hat, being present to mark the saint. The existence of these accessories can leave no doubt on the mind of the spectator that he has St. Jerome before him, though the nimbus is wanting, and the manner in which the

subject is treated is unusual. The object was to solve a problem relating to the portrayal of the emotions of the soul, and to invite reflection rather than adoration. What, however, specially characterises the picture is its being a direct study from nature, that is to say, a study from a deliberately chosen model. The flesh tones are warm, though so thin and transparent that the preliminary sketch can be seen through them: they recall the master's earlier rather than his later period. In the draperies the paint is laid on more thickly. Unfortunately the glazes have been rubbed off, and the dark background has been repainted. The genuine monogram, with some confused traces of a date above it, can, notwithstanding, be still distinguished on the right at the top. What that date is, whether 1513 or an earlier one, I cannot say. The picture is in the Fine Arts Academy at Siena.* It is less worthy of our attention for its purely pictorial qualities than as a revelation of the psychological tendencies which were then beginning to appear, and which Dürer was about to develop in a manner peculiarly his own. It was with this object in view that he commenced, in 1514, a series of figures of the Apostles on copper, which, though never finished, occupied him, as we shall see, for more than ten years, and which, in connection with another idea conceived about the same time, inspired the production of his last great work.

This other idea was that men were to be classed according to the four categories under which the humanistic wisdom

* Entitled in the Catalogue (Pictures belonging to different schools, No. 29), 'Testa di un apostolo' (Head of an apostle). The picture, which is 0.32 high by 0.248 wide, came from the Spannocchi Collection. It is painted on a soft wood which has been very much eaten by the worms. In the left-hand corner at the top are still visible traces of an inscription in red Gothic letters; whether this is a repetition of the date, or the word IERONIM, it would require a very minute examination to decide.

of the age thought all humanity could be included, viz., according to the four Temperaments or Complexions. It is well known what a great part this theory has played in medicine and in all other sciences since the days of Hippocrates and Galen. Dürer naturally adhered to it unreservedly. He explained the difference in the outward appearance of men simply by a reference to the four complexions, and he considered it indispensable that, before choosing art as a profession for children, their temperaments should be well considered.* He consequently made the four temperaments the objects of his closest study, and it is to his interest in this question that we owe those engravings which show him at the height alike of his creative power and his technical skill. These engravings are the 'Melancholia,' the 'St. Jerome in his Chamber,' both of 1514, and the 'Knight,' commonly called 'The Knight, Death, and the Devil,' of 1513.† Of all Dürer's engraved works these have ever been, and still are, the most valued and admired, though their meaning has always remained doubtful and obscure.

What, apart from the very highest artistic qualities, renders these engravings so popular, is the deep national feeling, and the still deeper feeling for humanity, in which they are conceived, and from which they spring. The evident existence of these feelings does more to help towards their being understood than any minute explanation of all the details. They whisper something of the struggle of con-

* Zahn, *Dürerhandschriften* in the *Jahrbücher für Kunstwissenschaft*, i. p. 7:—"We have various forms in men produced by the four complexions." And again, at p. 11:—"Item, the first part teaches us how it is necessary to inquire into the character of a child, and take into consideration the nature of his complexion."

† Bartsch, Nos. 74, 60, and 98. A. Springer in his *Bilder aus der neueren Kunstgeschichte*, p. 200, was the first to clearly show that the 'St. Jerome' was a pendant to the 'Melancholia.' See the thorough inquiry into the meaning of the last engraving in M. Allihn's *Dürerstudien*, p. 95.

science which the German people were then preparing to enter upon, and from which none of us have since escaped. It is a tone of thought which is essentially modern, and which has been immortalised by some of the noblest poetry. A prelusive strain from 'Faust' breathes from these representations, even in their accessories, and has for us an irresistible attraction. Goethe has again forcibly brought into light this side of Dürer's age. In looking at these engravings we divine unconsciously the higher, inner truth which they contain, and recognise in them an illustration of the intellectual tendencies peculiar to the epoch of the Reformation.

The winged woman who, supporting her cheek in her left hand, and with a laurel wreath on her loosely bound hair, is seated plunged in gloomy meditation, all the materials for manual labour, for art, and for science lying scattered around her—what could she be meant to represent but Human Reason, in despair at the limits imposed upon her power? She is the restless, dissatisfied genius who compels Faust in his monologue to confess that "we can know nothing." This too is the meaning of the weird lighting up of the heavens by a rainbow and a comet, near which hovers a bat-like creature, bearing on its extended wings a scroll with the inscription "MELENCOLIA—1."* The number 1 shows that Dürer intended to bring out a series of the four Temperaments, which, it is worthy of remark, were to begin with the Melancholy.

There is no doubt that the famous engraving of 'St. Jerome in his Chamber' also owed its origin to this idea. The plate is almost the same size as the 'Melancholy,' and bears the same date, 1514, and it is therefore contempo-

* Purely personal motives, such as the death of his beloved mother in 1514, may have assisted the development of such a tendency, but they are not sufficient to account for the whole conception.

rary with Lazarus Spengler's translation of the life of the saint. Dürer must have begun it immediately after the completion of the 'Melancholy.' The tender silver-grey tones which appear for the first time in that engraving,

MELANCHOLIA.

(Reduced from the Engraving in the British Museum.)

and which would seem to result from the employment of some new method, have been brought in the 'St. Jerome' to an indescribable degree of delicacy. The large room, filled with comfortable furniture, and with the blinking lion in the foreground, is made dimly visible,

rather than lighted, by the diamond window-panes on the left; while the aged saint, seated writing in the background, and quite absorbed in the large book before him, is the type of intellectual ease indifferent to the outer world. The phlegmatic temperament must be the one here intended to be represented, but phlegmatic in the higher sense of the word, a sense too which was in accordance with the history of the time. Dürer's St. Jerome is symbolical of that humanistic learning which, coming from Italy, found its chief representative in Erasmus of Rotterdam,—of that aristocratic intellectual tendency which desires above all to secure the theoretical standpoint of knowledge, attaching itself exclusively to the governing classes, and keeping carefully clear of the people and their life. This wise man, were he to speak, would cry out in the words of Goethe's scholar in the second part of 'Faust:'

> "Die Gegenwart verführt ins Uebertriebne
> Ich halte mich vor allem ans Geschriebne."

Beside this humanistic tendency as personified in Erasmus, there arose in Germany another tendency of a different kind, the representatives of which better understood the needs of the people, and were more in harmony with the requirements of the time. Between Erasmus and Luther there were enthusiastic men whose learning inclined them towards the former, while their feelings led them decidedly to the latter. Study had not deprived their vigorous natures of the love of action or of the power of enjoying life; their hands could wield at once the pen and the sword. Such a one was Ulrich von Hutten, the Franconian knight, who first threw off the mask of the Latin language, and invited the common people to share in his knowledge; such a one too was Wilibald Pirkheimer, who guided his native city in the path of progress, a path in which it soon out-

stripped all other towns. Men they were of courage and spirit, always ready for the fray, and eager to take part in the great conflicts of opinion that were daily being waged.

Dürer's 'Knight' of 1513 is an embodiment of this tendency of mind in Germany. It has long been accepted as such, and hence has sometimes been called 'The Knight against Death and the Devil,'* sometimes 'The Christian Knight with Death and the Devil,'† and sometimes 'The Knight of the Reformation.' An attempt even was made to see a likeness in the Knight to Franz von Sickingen, or to Dürer's friend, Stephen Paumgärtner.‡ But the only reason for suggesting these names was that the date on the engraving was preceded by the wholly inexplicable letter S. There is no question, however, of any particular person. The studies which for some time back had prepared the way for this composition are opposed to any such idea, for the sketch for the figure of the knight belongs to the year 1498, and that for the horse probably to 1506.§

The conclusion arrived at, that Dürer's engraving was not one of the well-known representations of the 'Dance of Death,' is quite correct, for notwithstanding his terrifying aspect, the figure of Death limping along beside the Knight is not triumphant; and still less so is that of the Devil, who follows behind. It is the Knight—the human being—who exults. In looking at his face one can see that the muscles of the mouth are tightly stretched. He is grinning. Only

* Retberg, No. 203.

† Sandrart, and Heller, No. 1013.

‡ Retberg is in favour of Paumgärtner on account of the armour being similar to that on one of the wings of the Paumgärtner altar-piece. But the armour in the engraving is simply a reproduction of that in the study of a knight done in 1498, and now in the Albertina, and there is not the smallest resemblance between the two heads. This supposition is therefore as untenable as Heller's, who considers the figure to be a likeness of Sickingen. The utmost that can be affirmed is that Stephen Paumgärtner sat to Dürer on horseback as a model for the drawing.

§ See vol. i. pp. 363–4.

the gloomy surroundings, the ghostly figures, and his strange equipment, are apt to distract the attention and prevent the look of suppressed laughter about his mouth being noticed. It will, however, be acknowledged that the meaning of the picture clearly is to be sought for

THE KNIGHT, DEATH, AND THE DEVIL.
(Reduced from the engraving in the British Museum.)

in the expression on the face of the principal figure. That the time is not night is shown by the distinctness with which the castle on the hill stands out, and by the sky being left white. Wild and gloomy indeed is the rocky gorge along which the undismayed Knight, mounted on his

noble steed, and accompanied by his faithful hound, steadfastly pursues his way. He laughs in his sleeve as Death with its staring eyes holds out to him the hour-glass; the quaint demon who would seize him from behind he heeds not, but unfalteringly rides on. All this is exactly opposite to the sentiment which pervades the old representations of the 'Dance of Death.' The world is being transformed, the powers of hell are losing their ancient credit; and we may already recognise the existence of that feeling expressed in the passage of the prologue to 'Faust,' when our Lord permits Mephistopheles to exercise his powers of temptation:

> "Enough, 'tis granted! From the source, where he
> His being had, this spirit turn aside,
> And lead him, if thou'rt able, down with thee,
> Along thy way, that pleasant is and wide;
> And stand abashed, when thou art forced to own,
> A good man, in the darkness and dismay
> Of powers that fail, and purposes o'erthrown,
> May still be conscious of the proper way."
>
> *Sir Theodore Martin's Translation.*

There can, indeed, be scarcely a doubt as to the profound moral meaning, the general historical signification of 'The Knight, Death, and the Devil.' Nor have we any difficulty in discovering what was Dürer's own immediate artistic object. The studies made in view of the work furnish us with very exact information on this point. Dürer wanted, above all, to do as perfect a picture as possible of a knight on horseback, and this is why, in the journal he kept in the Netherlands, the piece is briefly called 'The Horseman.' He took for it the equipment and figure of a Nuremberg man-at-arms, whom he had drawn fifteen years before. Though he could not then quite manage the horse, he had at any rate mastered, while in Italy, the secret of equine proportions according to the principles of Leonardo and Verrocchio, and had at once made use of them in his preliminary pen-sketch of the mounted figure for the future

engraving. In the drawings done at that time the dog is already introduced running by the side of the horseman, though not, it is true, the long shaggy-haired hound of the engraving, but a smooth-coated one. The horse of the engraving shows clearly in its proportions—in the straight nose, and even in the folds of the skin of the neck and haunches—its relationship with the bronze one in the equestrian statue of Balthasar Colleoni in front of SS. Giovanni e Paolo at Venice. Only one essential improvement was made by Dürer. The horses in his earlier drawings, like the sculptured ones of the early Italian Renaissance, have, as they walk, both hind-feet resting on the ground. This impossible position may still be seen in the early designs at Florence and Milan, and it was even reproduced on the copper-plate; that is to say, the horse was represented with his near fore-leg raised, while his off hind-leg still remained on the ground. Dürer now altered the off hind-leg and drew it raised and foreshortened; but as the original outline could not be effaced, he transformed it into some reed-like plant, which, however, still allows the old contour of the leg and hoof to be plainly visible. The correction of this mistake may have rendered it necessary to go over the whole plate again, and hence its unusual blackness.

This *pentimento* shows clearly that Dürer made use of the preparatory studies he had done several years before, and it is also evidence of the scrupulous care which he bestowed upon his work. But there was something yet remaining to be done; the child of his genius must have a name. The solution of an artistic problem might content the master but would not satisfy the buyer, the critic of his work, who would want to know, first of all, what its meaning was. Though the object of the artist may merely have been to represent nude figures, he was obliged to call them Adam and Eve, St. Sebastian, or St. Mary Magdalene. In

the same way that Dürer had already made use of the study of the 'Horseman,' done in 1498, to which we have so often referred, for his small equestrian figure of St. George of the year 1508, he now utilised for his 'Knight, Death, and the Devil,' designs made some long time before. We are therefore justified, and indeed compelled, to inquire into the real meaning of the subject of this engraving.

After what has been already said the answer does not seem so difficult. If the 'Melancholia' and the 'St. Jerome in his Chamber' belong to a series of the four Temperaments, 'The Knight, Death, and the Devil' also belongs to that series, and forms the third part of it. Allowing the shortest possible time for engraving the plate, it is as nearly contemporary with the other two as it could be; and it is almost the same size, a size which Dürer only employed for some of his earliest, and perhaps not original engravings, and never used afterwards.* It is difficult to gather from the composition which of the two Temperaments yet unrepresented Dürer had intended to delineate here, for the characteristics of the four Complexions have at all times been very varied, and we do not know from what source Dürer and his advisers derived their information, and still less how much liberty they allowed themselves in dealing with it. Enough that it can only in any case be a question of one of the two active Temperaments, the bilious or the sanguineous; and the doubt appears to me to find its solution in the engraving itself, for surely the capital letter S before the date on the small

* These engravings are the 'Madonna with the Grasshopper,' the 'Prodigal Son,' and the 'Amymone.' The exact measurements, without the margins, are: — The 'Melancholia,' 0.24 high by 0.19 wide; 'St. Jerome,' 0.247 high by 0.19 wide; the 'Knight,' 0.245 high by 0.188 wide. The differences are slight when we consider that Dürer printed his plates on uncut sheets of paper, and sold them with very broad margins.

tablet in the left-hand corner, at the bottom, must mean "*Sanguinicus.*"

That Dürer left this series unfinished, as he did many other works, is no argument against the idea entertained by Von Eye, of a connection between the three pieces just described. It is not unlikely that the introduction of St. Jerome into the set, first suggested probably by Spengler, may have appeared rather unfitting, and have consequently delayed the work.

The idea of representing the popular father of the Church in his domestic character was not a new one. Without mentioning other German as well as Italian masters, Dürer himself had already portrayed him under this aspect in the admirable woodcut of 1511.* What is new in the engraving is the sense of colour, the poetical spirit, and the objects of still-life with which the saint is surrounded, and which put him into the background, both actually and metaphorically. That Dürer's inclination at this time was towards delineating phases of character is shown by another example. It was in 1514 that he engraved the little 'Bagpipe Player,' leaning against a tree and blowing his pipe, and the two 'Peasants Dancing, hand in hand,' a group the rude merriment of which would do honour to a Brueghel.† The two sheets are evidently pendants; they were composed together, and must be considered together. In spite of the slight, evidently unintentional, difference in size, and of there being nothing outwardly to show that one is the complement of the other, it must strike every one who looks at them with an unprejudiced eye, that such was the intention of the artist; they correspond both in form and in simplicity of conception. With regard to the 'St. Paul'‡ and

* Bartsch, 114.

† Bartsch, Nos. 91 and 90. These small plates differ from one another only two millimetres in height and one in breadth. The plate of the bagpipe player is still in the possession of the Imhoff family, but has been much retouched.

‡ Bartsch, 50. The pen-sketch for this 'St. Paul,' in reverse, but the

the 'St. Thomas,'* with which Dürer began his small series of Apostles in 1514, there is no particular mark to show that they belong to any category; and the same may be said of the Passion in Copper. The series of the Temperaments, on the other hand, is characterised with exceptional clearness; the 'Melancholia' bears its full name, and the number 1; the 'Sanguinicus' is, at any rate, distinguished by its initial letter.

Dürer's love of philosophical speculation and profound thought reached its culminating point about the year 1514. The commissions of the Emperor Maximilian had weaned him more and more from the religious compositions which had hitherto entirely absorbed his attention. During his sojourn at the Imperial Court he had necessarily come a great deal into contact with the scholars who frequented it, and especially with those most anxious to bring themselves into notice. He was beset on all sides by demands for allegorical designs, and in complying with these requirements he still occasionally made use of mythological figures. Thus we find in the Ambras Collection at Vienna, a coloured pen-drawing of an ingenious allegory, which was much in favour with German artists, especially with Cranach; it bears the date 1514. A small Cupid has stolen some honeycomb from a beehive, and being in consequence surrounded by the bees and stung, runs crying to Venus, who is clad in white.† The two pen-drawings with nude figures in the Städel Institute at Frankfort are quite incomprehensible. One, of 1515, depicts a man tied to a tree; behind him is another man

same size as the engraving, is in the Uffizii at Florence.

* Bartsch, 48.

† There is an old copy of this drawing in the British Museum, but Dürer has had no more to do with it than with the singular inscription "Plato," and the silly rhymes which follow.

picking up something from the ground; a woman stands beside another in a crouching position; and a lean old woman is walking with a stick. The other drawing, which is dated 1516, represents a young man and an old woman placing a candelabrum on a pedestal; in the background are three other female figures, one of whom is holding a sort of holy-water sprinkler. The nude figures are drawn with a boldness and a freedom quite Italian, and in the firmness of their attitudes, with their legs well apart, remind one of Luca Signorelli.

With the advent of Martin Luther a new religious spirit developed itself in the humanistic circle at Nuremberg. In that city the Reformer found adherents more quickly than elsewhere, and one of the first to declare for him was Albert Dürer. Already, at the beginning of 1518, he had shown his admiration for Luther, probably by sending him his series of woodcuts and some of his engravings; for on the 5th of March in that year, Luther, writing to Christoph Scheurl, speaks of the master's present and expresses his warmest gratitude for it.* With what feelings must the Reformer have turned over the leaves of Dürer's 'Life of the Virgin' and his 'Passion'! On the 23rd of December of the same year Scheurl informs Johann Staupitz of the friendly community that was gathering round the preacher Wenzel Link, and he sends him greetings from Link's congregation, among whom he enumerates Hieronymus Ebner, Caspar Nützel, Hieronymus Holzschuher, and Lazarus Spengler, well-known names, and also Dürer, all "eagerly longing for a friendly greeting from Luther." † This cheerful, harmonious spirit was not to last long however, for the dawn so eagerly desired

* De Wette, i. 95:—". . . accepi . . . simul et donum insignis viri Alberti Dureri . . . Interim rogo commendes me optimo viro Alberto Durero et gratum ac memorem ei me nunties."

† *Scheurls Briefbuch*, edited by Soden and Knaake, Potsdam, 1867,

was followed by a stormy day. Dürer's two most intimate friends, Wilibald Pirkheimer and Lazarus Spengler, entered the lists on behalf of Luther in a most decided manner, and were accordingly included in the first attack which the Romish Curia directed against the rebellious monk.

As Pirkheimer had previously, in his 'Defence of Reuchlin,' upheld humanistic enlightenment, so now Spengler, in 1519, published his 'Apologia,' or Defence and Christian Reply, by an honest lover of the divine truth of Holy Scripture, in answer to the gainsaying of some persons, and for the purpose of showing why Dr. Martin Luther's teaching should not be rejected as unchristian, but rather be considered as essentially Christian.' Pirkheimer's caustic wit, too, could no longer be restrained. After the disputation at Leipsic between the Reformer and Dr. Eck, he made fun of the latter in a satirical dialogue entitled 'Eccius Dedolatus.' In this pamphlet, which has all the outspoken and fantastic character peculiar to the German humour of the period, Pirkheimer holds up his victim to unsparing ridicule.* It appeared in February, 1520, under a feigned name, and was dated from Utopia. Spengler's 'Apology' was also published anonymously. But the authors were soon discovered, and when Eck returned from Rome with the Papal Bull of

p. 78:—"Nos hic vivimus quiete, valemus recte: nam et Wenceslaus praedicat populo gratus; ejus auditores te salutant: Je. Ebner, C. Nuzel, J. Holtzuher, L. Spengler, A. Durrer, addo etiam cancellarium tuum devotum Scheurleum cum Ebnero, omnes Salutis Martinianae cupidissimi." A few days before, on the 17th of the same month, "Wenceslaus, Lutherum non mentiens, Durer et plerique alii," salute Spalatin (*Ibid.* p. 66). And on the 9th of May, 1519, we read in a letter to Martin Luther and Otto Beckmann: "Valete feliciter et si quid possumus pro vobis possumus: utrique vestrum se commendat Je. Ebner, Caspar Nuzel, J. Holtschuher, Albertus Durer et omnis nostra sodalitas nominis vestri studiosissima" (*Ibid.* p. 90).

* See *Der gehobelte Eck*, by R. Rösler, in the *Zeitschrift für deutsche Kulturgeschichte*, New Series II. 457 *et seq.*

excommunication against Luther, he made use of the authority conferred on him by the Pope to revenge himself, by inserting their names in it as the two chief adherents of Luther. This caused them a whole series of annoyances, and after many humiliating negotiations they decided to make a united appeal, dated December 1st, 1520, to Pope Leo X., in order to obtain, by a kind of half-retractation, release from a ban which meantime was speedily about to lose all its effect in Nuremberg.

Dürer was too closely associated with both scholars not to be affected by all these occurrences and the excitement which followed. We have a proof of this in his letter to George Spalatin at the beginning of 1520, in which he says with reference to Spengler's 'Apology:' "In reply to your inquiry about Spengler's pamphlet in defence of Luther, I must tell you that no more of them are to be had, but it is being reprinted at Augsburg, and as soon as any copies are ready I will send you some. But you must know that this little book, though written here, is condemned from every pulpit as a heretical work only fit to be burned, while abuse and invective have been hurled at him who published it without putting his name to it. People say, too, that Dr. Eck wished to burn it publicly at Ingolstadt, as Dr. Reuchlin's book was once burned."* The beginning, however, of this letter to the Chaplain of the Elector Frederick the Wise, is of still greater importance, as showing the tendencies of Dürer's mind at that time. He first of all expresses his thanks to the Elector for some small books of Luther's which he had sent him: "I pray your Reverence, therefore, to convey my very

* The original of this letter of Dürer's to Spalatin is in the Library at Basle; it has been printed by Ed. His-Heusler in the *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, iii. 7, and translated into modern German in *Dürers Briefe*, p. 42 *et seq.*

humble thanks to his Electoral Grace, and to commend to his Grace, in all humility, the worthy Dr. Martinus Luther, for the sake of Christian truth, which is of greater moment to us than all the riches and power of this world; for that all passeth away, but the truth abideth for ever. And if, by the help of God, I can but come to Dr. Martinus Luther, I will paint his portrait with all diligence and engrave it on copper, for a lasting remembrance of this Christian man who has delivered me out of great perplexities. And I beseech your Reverence, if Dr. Martinus writes anything new, in German, to send it to me, and I will pay for it."

Dürer was equally anxious while in the Netherlands to purchase any new pamphlets of Luther's, even if they were in Latin. Thus he bought, twice over, the 'Condemnation of Luther and his Answer thereto,' which had just been printed at Schlettstadt and at Wittenberg, in 1520.* Another proof of Dürer's views at that time with regard to the Church, is that the only clergy he had any intercourse with at Antwerp were the Augustine friars, with whom he seems to have been rather intimate. These Augustines came from Saxony, and had only settled in Antwerp in 1513, in the St. Andrew quarter, where there is still a street called the Augustiner Strasse. It is of this monastery that Erasmus of Rotterdam speaks, in his first letter to Luther from Louvain, May 30th, 1519: "In the monastery at Antwerp there is a prior, a truly Christian man, who has an extraordinary affection for you, and says

* *Dürers Briefe*, &c., p. 96, l. 7, and p. 99, l. 6: "Condemnatio doctrinae librorum Martini Lutheri, per quosdam magistros Lovanienses et Colonienses facta, cum responsione Lutheri." The dialogue referred to would be, according to L. Geiger (*Göttinger gelehrte Anzeiger*, 1873, p. 977), the one printed in Schade's *Satiren aus der Reformationszeit*, ii. pp. 135–154, 327–339, and reproduced by Baur in his *Deutschland in den Jahren* 1517-1525, pp. 113–118.

he was your pupil. He is almost the only one who preaches Christ, the others preach either fables or what will fill their purses." * The prior and the monks of this monastery were imprisoned in September 1522, as adherents and propagators of the new doctrine, and in the following year expelled. Perhaps it was some of these brothers whom Cornelius Grapheus, the Secretary of the Council of Antwerp, spoke of as "excellent men and thorough Christians;" and to whom he gave, on February 23rd, 1524, a warm letter of introduction to Dürer, "the prince of painters, his friend, and best beloved brother in Christ." In case of Dürer's absence, they were to address themselves to Wilibald Pirkheimer. Grapheus concludes his letter with these words: "There has arisen here a great persecution for the Gospel's sake, never ceasing from day to day, which these brethren will tell you all about more openly and in detail. Again, farewell." †

Dürer's confession of faith broke forth unrestrainedly when the news reached him of Luther's arrest while returning from the Diet of Worms. He was convinced there was treachery, and became so excited that he interrupts the usually dry entries in his Netherlands Journal, to burst into a long heartrending lamentation.‡

"On the Friday before Whitsuntide (May 17th), in the year 1521, the news reached me at Antwerp that Martin Luther had been treacherously taken prisoner. A safe conduct had been given him, and he was accompanied by a herald of the Emperor Charles to protect him. But on arriving at a lonely

* *Dürers Briefe*, &c., p. 126, l. 22, and p. 236. Stichart, *Erasmus von Rotterdam*, 315. *Opus epist.* p. 258.

† *Dürers Briefe*, xvi, p. 178: "De meo statu nihil scribo; hi tabellarii, viri optimi et syncerissime Christiani tibi facile indicabunt, quos tibi nostroque Pircaimero ceu meipsum commendo; digni enim sunt qui optimis quibusque (cum optimi sint) valde commendentur. Vale mi charissime Alberte! Apud nos magna et subinde nova quotidie propter evangelium oritur persequutio, de qua re fratres isti apertius omnia narrabunt. Iterum vale!"

‡ Campe, *Reliquien*, p. 127 *et seq.*; and *Dürers Briefe*, &c., p. 119 *et seq.*

spot near Eisenach, the herald told Luther that his presence could be of no further use to him, and rode off. Immediately ten horsemen appeared, who treacherously led away captive this pious man who had been sold to them, a man enlightened with the Holy Spirit, and a follower of the true Christian faith. Does he yet live, or have they murdered him? I know not. But this I say, that he has suffered for the sake of Christian truth, and because he has rebuked the unchristian Papacy which opposes the freedom of Christ with its heavy burden of human laws, and allows us to be robbed of that which is our life-blood, to the profit of idle vagabonds who scandalously devour it, while the thirsty and the sick die of want. And, above all, is it to me most grievous that perhaps God will leave us still under this false, blind teaching, which men whom they call Fathers have set up and invented, whereby the precious Word of God is in many places falsely set forth, or altogether withheld. O God in heaven, have mercy upon us!"

And so he goes on in the style adopted by the preachers of that time. The passage gives us a deep insight into Dürer's troubled soul, and shows also the extent of his reading in the theological literature which at that time guided public opinion, and his intimate acquaintance with the ecclesiastical questions of the day. He dreams of the union of all Christian confessions, and prays thus to Christ: "Lord Jesus Christ, call together again the sheep of Thy flock, some of whom are still to be found in the Church of Rome, together with all the Indians, Muscovites, Russians, and Greeks, who have been separated from us by the oppression and avarice of the Popes, and by a false appearance of holiness. O God, deliver Thy poor people, who are oppressed with severe punishments and by ordinances, which none willingly obey, but which cannot be violated without continually sinning against conscience," &c.

Farther on, Dürer refers to the English Reformer, John Wickliffe, when he says: "And if we have lost that man (Luther), who has written more clearly than any other has done for the last 140 years,* and to whom Thou gavest such an evangelical spirit, we beseech Thee, O heavenly Father, to bestow Thy Holy Spirit once more upon one who will gather together again from all parts Thy holy Christian Church, so that we may again live together in Christian unity; and that all unbelievers, such as Turks, heathens, and Indians, may turn willingly to us for the sake of our good works, and accept the Christian faith. But Thou, O Father, even as it was Thy will that Thy Son Jesus Christ should be put to death by the priests, that He might rise from the dead and afterwards ascend into heaven; so now hast Thou willed, before executing Thy judgments, that the same should happen unto Thy follower, Martin Luther, whose life the Pope, a traitor to God, seeketh with help of his gold. But Thou wilt quicken him. And as Thou afterwards, O my Lord, didst decree the destruction of Jerusalem, so wilt Thou destroy the despotic and arbitrary power of the Papacy. O Lord, give us then the new and beautiful Jerusalem which comes down from heaven, and of which the Apocalypse speaks, the holy and pure Gospel, which cannot be obscured by the doctrine of men. Whoever reads Martin Luther's books can see that his teaching is clear and transparent like the holy Gospel itself.† And therefore should these books be

* Wickliffe died in 1384.

† Dürer expressed himself in the same sense to Melanchthon about Luther's writings as compared with those of other theologians:—"Hoc interesse inter Lutheri et aliorum theologorum scripta, quod ipse legens in prima pagina tres vel quattuor periodos scriptorum Lutheri, scire posset, quid esset expectandum in toto opere. Et hanc esse laudem scriptorum Lutheri, videlicet illam perspicuitatem et ordinem orationis. De aliis vero dicebat, quod postquam perlegisset totum librum, oporteret attente cogitare, quid voluisset autor dicere, vel de qua re disserat." Manlius, *Locorum communium collectaneae*, Basle, 1563, ii. 284.

held in great honour, and not burned; or else his opponents who are always fighting against the truth, and would make gods of men, should also be cast into the fire, together with all their opinions. But, in any case, it would be necessary to arrange that new copies of Luther's books should be printed."

The expressions in which Dürer finally gave vent to his grief for Luther are remarkable: "O God, if Luther is dead, who will deliver the holy Gospel to us with such clearness? O God, what might he not have written in ten or twenty years! O all ye good Christians, help me to bewail this God-inspired man, and pray that God may send us another enlightened teacher! O Erasmus of Rotterdam, where wouldst thou tarry? See what unjust tyranny, worldly might, and the powers of darkness can do! Listen, soldier of Christ! ride forth beside the Lord Jesus, defend the truth, and win the martyr's crown! Without doubt thou art already an aged man, but I have heard of thee that thou hast given thyself two years more during which thou wilt be fit for work. Use these well in behalf of the Gospel and the true Christian faith, and let thyself be heard; then, as Christ says, the gates of hell—the see of Rome—shall not prevail against thee. And if thou here below becomest like thy master, Christ, and sufferest shame from lying tongues, and shouldest even die a little while sooner, then wilt thou pass the sooner from death unto life and be glorified through Christ: for if thou dost drink of the cup which He drank of, thou shalt reign with Him and judge the ungodly with righteous judgment. O Erasmus, stand by us, that thou mayest have praise of God, as it is written of David, for thou, yea thou, art verily able to strike down Goliath!" &c.

Dürer evidently thought himself justified in identifying the liberal tendencies of the humanists with those of the

reformers. It was about the same time that Pirkheimer, addressing Kilian Leib, expressed himself at some entertainment at Nuremberg in the following words: "The disorders which have spread through the Church can only be remedied by fresh disorders."* When Dürer invoked the aid of Erasmus, he little foresaw the wide breach which was about to be made in the ranks of the party of progress, between the humanists and the reformers on the one hand, and the reformers and the mystico-socialistic sectaries on the other. But little too, in truth, can he have known of the smallness of the great man of Rotterdam, though he had taken his portrait, when he designed for him the *rôle* of a tragic hero—for him, forsooth, that same Erasmus who, two years afterwards, turned the fugitive Ulrich von Hutten, wounded and bleeding, away from his door, for fear of being compromised, and afterwards pursued the sorely stricken unfortunate, even to his death, with bitter and libellous writings.

At the period of Dürer's return from the Netherlands, opinions in Nuremberg were not yet so sharply divided. For a time everything went pleasantly, and the Council determined, in 1524, to found a high school, the management of which was to be entrusted to Philip Melanchthon. He, however, declined the post; but at the request of the Council he came several times to Nuremberg in order to supervise the organisation of the new school, at the opening of which he was present on the 23rd of May, 1526. By his advice the masters chosen were:—Joachim Cammermeister or Camerarius, Melanchthon's own intimate friend, as Professor of Greek, and at the same time director of the school; Eoban Hesse, Professor of Poetry; Michel Roting, of Latin; and Johann Schoner, of Mathematics. These and the other

* Hagen, iii. 44.

professors, together with Spengler, Hopell, Mylius, Seiler, and the ecclesiastics Thomas Venatorius and Wenzeslaus Link, formed a society which met in the evening, sometimes at Wöhrd, sometimes in the Hallerwiese, and sometimes at Mögelsdorf,* while occasionally a sumptuous entertainment was given at the house of one of the members. In no high school did the masters enjoy such liberal salaries as at the Nuremberg Gymnasium.† In the cheerful companionship of this circle, Humanism, with its epicurean doctrines and practices, raised its head once more, without allowing itself to be disturbed by the theological controversies that from time to time threw a perplexing shadow across its path.

Cornelius Grapheus mentions at the beginning of the letter of introduction, already referred to, a long epistle which he had previously written to Dürer, in the name of their common friend Tommaso Bombelli; and another noteworthy proof that Dürer had not quite given up his connection with the friends he made during his stay in the Netherlands is the letter to him from the English Court-astronomer, Niklas Kratzer, and his reply to it. The presence of a Nuremberger named Hans Pömer seems to have furnished Kratzer with the opportunity of writing. The two letters are as follows:—

NIKLAS KRATZER TO DÜRER.‡

"To the honourable and talented Albert Dürer, Citizen of Nuremberg, my dear sir and friend. "London, 24 October, 1524.

"HONOURED AND DEAR SIR,—Yours and your wife's good health cause me great joy. Know that Hans Pemair has been with me in England. I

* Wöhrd and Mögelsdorf were villages in the neighbourhood of Nuremberg, and the Hallerwiese was a meadow on the west side of the town near the mouth of the Pegnitz.

† G. Th. Strobel, *Vermischte Beiträge zur Geschichte der Literatur*, Altdorf, 1774, p. 81 *et seq.*; and Hagen, iii. 192 *et seq.*

‡ The original of this letter (for which see the Appendix to this volume, p. 323) is in the possession of Herr Lempertz at Cologne, who most kindly placed it at my disposal. From the style of writing one sees that Kratzer had already somewhat forgotten his German.

sent for him. I must write to you because you are all followers of the Gospel in Nuremberg. May God send you grace, that you may persevere to the end, for the adversaries are strong, but God is still stronger, and generally helps the sick who call upon Him and confess Him. Dear Master Albert, I pray you to draw for me a model of the instrument that you saw at Herr Pirkheimer's, by which distances can be measured, and of which you spoke to me at Antwerp (*Andarf*), or that you will ask Herr Pirkheimer to send me a description of the said instrument; thereby you would do me a great favour.* Also I desire to know what you ask for copies of all your prints, and if there is anything new at Nuremberg in my craft. I hear that our Hans, the astronomer, is dead.† I wish you to write and tell me what he has left behind him, and about Stabius, what has become of his instruments and his blocks. Greet in my name Herr Pirkheimer. I hope shortly to make a map of England, which is a great country, and was not known to Ptolemy; Herr Pirkheimer will be glad to see it. All who have written of it hitherto have only seen a small part of England, no more. So, dear Sir, you can write to me by Hans Pemair. I beg of you to send me the likeness of Stabius, fashioned to represent St. Kolman, and cut in wood.‡ No more that will interest you. May God be with you.

"Your servant,

"Greet for me particularly your wife. "NICLAS KRATZER."

DÜRER TO NIKLAS KRATZER.§

"To the honourable and worthy Herr Niklas Kratzer, servant of his Royal Majesty in England, my gracious sir and friend.

"† 1524, on the Monday after the Feast of St. Barbara, at Nuremberg (5 December).

"My very willing service to dear Master Nicolas! Your letter, which reached me, I have read with pleasure. and am glad to hear you are well. I

* Probably one of the instruments invented by Stabius, of which his scholar G. Tanstetter, Prof. of Astronomy at Vienna, speaks in his *Tabulae ecclipsium Purbachii*, published in 1514. Compare Sotzmann, *Ueber Stabius*, p. 243.

† I do not know who is meant here: one naturally thinks at first of the celebrated Hans Werner, the heir and successor of Regiomontanus, but he, according to Doppelmayr, did not die till 1528.

‡ This is the woodcut universally ascribed to Dürer, of the full-length figure of St. Koloman (Bartsch, 106; Heller, 1828; Retberg, 199). It was first published in 1513, with a long panegyric in verse of the Austrian martyr. The block is still in the Imperial Library at Vienna, and fresh copies were printed from it in 1781. The acceptance of it as Dürer's work is just as little justified by its appearance as by the mention of it in Kratzer's letter. The drawing belongs rather to Hans Burgkmair, or to Springinklee, or to some other master. We learn, however, from this passage, that the head of the saint is a likeness of Stabius.

§ The original of this letter (for which see the Appendix to this volume, p. 324) is in the Guildhall Library, London, and was discovered and communicated to me by my respected friend, Mr. William Mitchell.

have spoken with Herr Wilbolt Birkamer anent the instrument you wish for. He is having one made for you, and will send it, together with a letter. With respect to the things left by Herr Hans, who is departed, they have been all dispersed; I was away at his death, and I cannot learn what has become of them. The same has happened with Stabius's things, they are removed to Austria; but I can inform you no further about them. You told me once that you were going to translate Euclid into German; I should like greatly to know if you have done any of it. For the sake of our Christian faith, we are exposed to obloquy and danger, for they call us heretics. But God give us His grace and strengthen us by His word, for we must obey God rather than man. It is better to lose body and goods rather than that God should hurl both body and soul in hell-fire. God make us, therefore, steadfast in what is good, and enlighten our adversaries, the poor, blind, miserable people, that they may not perish in their errors. Herewith, may God preserve you! I send you also two portraits printed from the copper-plates; you will know them well. It is not good to write more news just now; but many evil plots abound. Truly, what God wills will happen.

"To your wisdom,

"ALBERT DÜRER."

There can hardly be a doubt as to the two likenesses which Dürer sent with this letter. He was accustomed to surprise his friends by sending them his most recent works, and the last of those done by him in 1524 were two masterpieces in the art of portraiture, viz., the likeness of the Elector Frederick the Wise, his oldest patron,* and that of his friend, Wilibald Pirkheimer,† both finished that year. The Elector had probably sat to him during the last Diet at Nuremberg, the year before. The corpulent prince, whose wisdom was evidently in excess of his energy, is far more nobly represented by Dürer than he could be by Lucas Cranach, the Court painter. Dürer must have deemed himself doubly fortunate in working for a prince to whom he personally owed so much, and whom he considered worthy, "for the favour and support which he had given to God's Word, to be honoured by all generations to come." ‡

* Bartsch, 104. † Bartsch, 106.

‡ "Ille Dei verba magna pietate favebat. Perpetua dignus posteritate coli."

Who could doubt that he bestowed the same care on the portrait of his oldest friend Pirkheimer? He immortalised his solid, energetic features, his large intelligent eyes, just before severe bodily suffering had bowed down the strength of the great philosopher of Nuremberg, and before the dust and turmoil of ecclesiastical controversy had dimmed his clear gaze. While the plague was raging at Nuremberg, and Dürer was in the Netherlands, Pirkheimer lived in the tranquil enjoyment of nature at Neunhof, on the estate of his brother-in-law Geuder; and it was there that, on the 1st of September, 1521, he drew up for Bernhard Adelmann, of Adelmannsfeld, a description of his country life—"*Ex secessu nostro Neopagano*"—which has become classic. When he was tormented by the gout in 1522, he confronted his enemy with the "*Apologia seu laus podagrae*," dedicated to Bannisis. He then expressed his wish to retire from the Council of his native town, and his resignation was accepted with regret on the 8th of April, 1523. Everything that happened now seemed more and more unpleasing to him. He had already almost entirely shut himself out from the world when in 1524 he dictated to Dürer this inscription for his portrait, "*Vivitur ingenio, caetera mortis erunt.*" * The humanist, as he advanced in years, was destined to see the cultivation of learning threatened by the Reformation. He himself took no active part in the foundation of the new school, afterwards called the Gymnasium, because it seemed to him to be too exclusively intended for the encouragement of the new faith. The statesman was horrified at the numerous excesses and disorders which Luther's doctrines called forth in his immediate neighbourhood, and the unrestrained passions which were let loose in the peasants' war, inspired him with the

* The idea expressed in these words reminds one of the inscription which Pirkheimer afterwards placed upon Dürer's tomb. In the Museum at Amsterdam is a portrait of Pirkheimer painted from the engraving.

gravest misgivings. Family matters also came into play. His learned sisters and his three daughters, who had devoted themselves to a religious life, were likely to be seriously affected by the hatred of the burgher class against their convents. It was in vain that he took the part of the persecuted. Such leaders of the new Church system as the brutal preacher Osiander, were to him extremely odious; he even ended by quarrelling with his old friend Lazarus Spengler, going so far as to speak of him, as early as the year 1524, as "an arrogant writer, entirely without any sense of honour."* And so it came to pass that the distinguished, rich, and learned councillor took up by degrees towards the Reformation a position similar to that occupied by Erasmus of Rotterdam. From a successful champion, he became a powerless opponent.

We must not, however, hastily assume that Dürer, the simple citizen, followed his patrician friend unreservedly in this retrograde path. At the same time, they remained closely united and indispensable to each other until death. This was as well known to every one, as to Grapheus and Kratzer. Ulrich von Hutten certainly did not doubt that he was discoursing sweet music to Wilibald's ears, when in a letter to him of the 25th of October, 1518, he proclaimed it to be a glory to the Nurembergers that "the Apelles of modern times," Albert Dürer, was their fellow-citizen; one whom even the Italians, ordinarily so unwilling to recognise anything German, not only voluntarily acknowledged to be in the first rank, but actually ascribed their own pictures to, in order to render them more saleable.†

* See vol. i. p. 160.

† Böcking, *Hutten*, i. 199:—"Ille nostro ævo pingendi artificio Apelles, Albertus Dürer, quem illi, cum nihil facile Germanum laudari apud se aut ex invidia, qua gens illa peculiariter laborat, aut recepta jam vulgo opinione, ad omnia quæ ingenio indigent, hebetes nos esse et inertes, patiantur, ita tamen admirantur, ut

Pirkheimer's nephew and pupil, Georg Geuder, writing from Spain, sent greetings to Dürer before all his own relatives; and Cuspinian, in a letter to Pirkheimer, calls Dürer the latter's Achates, in allusion to Æneas's trusty henchman.*

It would, however, be to greatly misunderstand the nature of the relationship between the two friends, were it supposed that in their opinions and convictions one always followed in the wake of the other. They were both of them too independent and of too much importance, not to have energetically maintained each his own way of thinking. The account given by Melanchthon, who in 1525 and 1526 was frequently in the habit of meeting Dürer at Pirkheimer's house, throws the clearest light upon the nature of the intercourse between them. In the course of his remarks on the subject, Melanchthon speaks of Dürer as "a wise man, whose genius as a painter, were it ever so brilliant, would be the least of his gifts." Pirkheimer had just at that time been mixing himself up in the unhappy controversy about the Lord's Supper, by writing against Œcolampadius; and it often happened, as Melanchthon tells his son-in-law Casper Peuker, that a dispute would arise between Dürer and Pirkheimer upon this subject, when Dürer would show such superiority of mind, and answer Pirkheimer so forcibly, and with such success, that one would have thought he had come ready armed for the controversy. Pirkheimer, who was of a hasty temper, and besides suffered cruelly from the gout, would turn pale with rage, and exclaim, "Such things are not to be painted!" Whereupon Dürer would at once

non solum ultro ei concedant, sed et quidam ut opera sua vendibiliora faciant, illius sub nomine ac inscriptione proponant." Probably an allusion to Marcantonio's copies.

* *Pirkheimeri Opera*, ed. Goldast, pp. 398 and 257.

retort, "And such things as you assert are not to be said, nor even to be thought of!" *

If Dürer did not share all Pirkheimer's scruples, still less could he sympathise with the extreme party on the other side, whose revolutionary ideas were fermenting among the people, and who were daringly asserting themselves in his immediate neighbourhood. Driven away from Alstedt by Luther, Thomas Münzer, the head of the sect of Anabaptists, had come to Nuremberg, and composed there, in 1524, his squib "against the man (*Fleisch*) who lived quietly at Wittenberg." Münzer was followed by his partisans, Schwerdtfisch and Reinhard, and the three found a welcome confederate in their revolutionary schemes in the free-thinker Johann Denk, a schoolmaster in the parish of St. Sebald. The rationalist and the deist united themselves to the mystic and the radical. The Council hastened to expel these disturbers of the peace from the city; but they had already found zealous adherents, among the foremost of whom were, as it happened, Dürer's three most talented pupils, Georg Penz, and the two brothers Hans Sebald and Barthel Beham. They were all born at the beginning of the century, and were therefore about twenty years of age.

* C. Peucerus, *Tractatus historicus de Phil. Melanchtonis sententia de controversia Coenae Domini*, Ambergae, 1596, p. 11. Printed in Murr's *Journal*, x. 40; G. Th. Strobel, *Vermischte Beiträge*, 107; and *Literar. Miscell.* vi. 212. . . . "Albertus Dürer pictor, vir sapiens, in quo Melanchton narrabat pictoriam artem, quae fuit excellentissima, minimam fuisse; saepe inciderunt inter Birckheimerum et Durerum de illo recenti certamine disputationes, in quibus cum Durerus, ut valuit ingenio plurimum, acriter adversaretur Birkeimero et quae proferebat ille refutaret tanquam ad certamen paratus accessisset; incanduit Birkeimerus, fuit enim iracundus admodum ac propterea saevissimae arthridi obnoxius, saepeque erupit in has voces: Non, inquiens, pingi ista possunt. At ista, inquit Durerus, quae tu adfers nec dici quidem nec animo concipi possunt." The same anecdote, also borrowed from an account of Melanchthon's, but without any names being mentioned, is to be found in Manlius, *Loc. comm. coll.*, Basle, 1563, ii. 302. This circumstance may be regarded as confirmatory of the truth of the story.

Whether they had been trained in Dürer's studio, or had merely formed themselves on his model, they must in any case be justly considered as his most gifted followers both in painting and engraving, and the master cannot have failed to take an interest in the fate of these young men. In 1524 the three painters were brought to trial for spreading deistic, and even atheistic and socialistic opinions. The hearing of the case and the sentence passed upon them afford remarkable evidence of the state of the revolutionary current which at that time mingled with the Reformation movement in Nuremberg.

Sebald Beham confessed that it was true that he had often, in the course of discussion with his companions, expressed his doubts as to the presence of the flesh and blood of Christ in the bread and wine; but as yet he was not convinced on the subject, and would therefore wait patiently until God should enlighten him. He had heard many sermons, but to no purpose. It was not Luther's writings nor any other sermons which had led him into error; he had been always of the same opinion. In conclusion, he said that if they could teach him a better doctrine, and one that would satisfy him, he would gladly hear and accept it.

Barthel Beham, his brother, made the same confession, and went even still further. He could not believe in the efficacy of baptism. No one could persuade him, though he had heard all that was to be said on the subject, to declare that he believed in it, and so lie in his heart. He looked upon it as a human device. Such was his inmost conviction. Neither could he believe in the Scriptures. He had asked and conversed with many people about it, he said, and had even listened for eighteen months to the preaching of Osiander, but nothing had satisfied him. He could not explain how it was that what the preachers said should find credence with men, when it was nothing but idle talking, which

moreover, as he saw, produced no fruit in the preacher. And this opinion, in the face of the lying spirit that prevailed, he would persist in until the truth should appear. When the Council interrogated him as to whether he and his brother had said that no one ought any longer to work, but that there should be a community of goods, and whether they also had expressed contempt for all constituted authorities, he answered that he recognised no superior but God Almighty.

Georg Penz, however, went the furthest of all. Being asked whether he believed in the existence of a God, he answered, Yes, he had some idea that there was one, but did not rightly know what conception to form of Him. What did he think of Christ? Nothing. Did he believe in the Holy Gospel and in the Word of God, contained in the Scriptures? No; he could not believe in them. What did he think of the sacraments of the altar? Nothing. What did he think of baptism? Nothing. Did he believe in secular authority, and did he acknowledge the Council of Nuremberg as the masters of himself, his goods, and everything belonging to him? He knew of no master but God.

A certain Veit Wirsperger, who appeared as a witness against the two Behams, stated that he knew them to be persons ill instructed in the faith, or as having become hardened against it. That one of the brothers, Barthel, professed neither to know Christ, nor to have anything to say about Him; in fact, he attached no more importance to what he heard about Him than to the story of Duke Ernest's going by sea to the loadstone mountains.* As to Sebald, he was no less obstinate and possessed by the devil, and it was a great pity that Christian people, like their wives, should have to associate with such men, and thus fall into

* In allusion to a popular legend to be found in Simrock's *Deutsche Volksbücher*, Frankfort, vol. iii. p. 305.

error, not knowing which way to turn. These two brothers had also been reading the books of Münzer and Karlstadt. Moreover, they had a lad with them, Master Sebald Kirchner's son, whom it would be well to take away from them; and indeed every Christian ought to avoid them. Further, he had often heard both the brothers say they had no respect for authority which would perish with time, though what they meant by that he did not know, &c.

Then follow, in the depositions, the reasons why it would be dangerous to allow the three artists to remain in the town. "Firstly, because these painters, not only on the first, but also on the second and third day, had, in spite of earnest warnings and remonstrances, shown themselves wholly heathenish and godless to an extent never heard of in any one before; braving and despising all the preachers and the secular authorities. Secondly, because of the danger of corruption to others: it could not indeed be supposed that these men would keep silence, they were well known and notorious for being proud, insolent, and overbearing. Thirdly, it was to be feared that a prison would have no more effect than the Word of God in inducing them to change their opinions. Fourthly, they had refused to take the oath of obedience to the Council, a step which even the banished schoolmaster, Denk, had not ventured on. Fifthly, the three painters had rendered themselves by their acts so odious to the majority of the people, that there was a risk, if they were allowed to remain at Nuremberg, of their being one day killed; thus one evil would lead to another, and the state of things would be worse than at first. Sixthly and lastly, it was much to be feared that the presence of these individuals would occasion such a division of opinions in the city, that it would be necessary to deliver sermons and give instruction not merely to the people in general, but

separately to each erring person, which would become an insupportable burden, both for the preachers and for the Council." *

The three "godless painters," as they were from that time called, were therefore banished from the city; a gloomy background, truly, to the delightful compositions, the charming children's dances, the pretty foliage ornamentation of these artists, "little masters," as they were called, though in fact they were really great masters!

Hieronymus Andreæ, Dürer's famous wood engraver, caused the Council the same sort of embarrassment. He appears to have been an extremely restless man, constantly implicated in the religious and political troubles of the time. He even took part with the rebellious peasantry, and was in consequence imprisoned in the year 1525.† This, however, did not prevent the Council from interceding for him warmly with King Ferdinand, a kindness which Hieronymus repaid by causing his native city many a vexation up to the day of his death, on the 7th of May, 1556.‡ The name of the profession, of which he was such a perfect master, soon became so inseparably connected with him individually, that his family name of Andreæ was completely forgotten. He styled himself simply Hieronymus Formschneider (wood engraver), and he was rarely otherwise designated. Many family names owe their origin to the calling of the first person who bore them. Among Dürer's drawings in the British Museum is the portrait of a young woman with a flat cap, a masterly charcoal drawing, on yellow paper, with a blackish background. At the top is the inscription, "*Fronica*, 1525. *Formschneiderin.*" It is not by any means to be concluded from this that a certain Veronica had herself been a wood engraver. If Formschneider was not already a regular

* Baader, *Beiträge*, ii. 74 *et seq.*

† Baader, *Jahrbücher für Kunstwissenschaft*, i. 233.

‡ Neudörffer, *Nachrichten*, 47.

family name, it is probable that the word had reference here to the calling of the father or husband of the young woman. Perhaps the portrait represents the wife of our Hieronymus Formschneider, properly called Andreæ.* .

The aberrations of these younger artists, to whom we have referred, can hardly have been a matter of indifference to Dürer, though we have no express information that he was in any way immediately affected by it. A document of the year 1523 states, it is true, that an assistant (*Knecht*) of Dürer's, named Jörg, married his master's maidservant, and acquired at the same time, by the payment of two florins, the rights of citizenship; † and it has been assumed, not without reason, that this assistant was no other than Georg Penz. Neudörffer's account that Penz was painting in the Town Hall in the year 1521 (consequently from Dürer's designs), makes it appear probable that he was still working in the master's studio at a later date. Perhaps his bride was the favoured maid, Susanna, who travelled with Dürer and his wife to the Netherlands. In this case, the marriage must have taken place a short time before the trial of the "three godless painters," and if so, Dürer would certainly be much affected by the event.

Georg Penz's punishment, however, did not last very long. By the spring of 1525 his repentant entreaties had procured for him from the Council a mitigation of the sentence of banishment, and he was allowed to live at Windsheim,

* The truth of this supposition has been promptly confirmed; for almost immediately after the publication of my original work in German, Herr Lochner discovered in the Nuremberg town archives (*Literæ*, vol. 70, folio 976), a document from which we learn that the wood engraver, Hieronymus Endres (*sic*), and Veronica, his wife, sold in 1555 to the cutler, Sebastian Schmid, for the sum of 110 Rhenish florins, their house forming part of the Wälschhof (Italian court) in the Breite Gasse. These individuals must be Hieronymus Andreæ and Fronica.

† Baader, *Beiträge*, i. 9.

though forbidden to enter the territory of Nuremberg. On the 28th of May of the same year, the Council relieved him both of the privileges and duties of a citizen. Afterwards, however, they not only permitted his return, but he received in the year 1532 an appointment "to execute sketches, designs, and paintings for the Council," with a yearly salary of 10 florins, which was to be paid to him beforehand, "in consideration of his notorious distress." After that he was frequently employed by the Council. In 1538 he gilded the frames for Dürer's pictures of the four Temperaments or the four Apostles, and received 15 Rhenish florins for it. Like his master, he presented to the Council, in 1548, two years before his death, "a clever painting, representing St. Jerome," which is still at Nuremberg.* For this he received a present of 80 florins. He died poor, however, and left his wife and children in such great distress, that the Council, at the moment of his decease, in 1550, contributed 60 florins towards paying his debts.† Thus Penz, through all his troubles, remained faithful to his native city, while his companions in misfortune, the brothers Beham, ended by seeking their fortunes in foreign countries; Barthel settled at the Electoral Court of Munich, and Hans Sebald became a citizen of Frankfort-on-Maine.‡

The only evidence of Dürer's having had any further troubles of this nature in his own immediate circle, is a curious fragment of a letter, which refers probably to an obstinate pupil, or to some assistant who was dependent on him. The fragment is on the back of a note from Dürer to Pirkheimer, which note again appears to have been written on a letter addressed to the former.§ The unknown writer, probably some spiritual director, who calls himself "*Nanus*

* In the Germanic Museum.

† Baader, *Beiträge*, i. 39; ii. 54.

‡ See the monograph by A. Rosenberg: *Sebald und Barthel Beham*, Leipzig, 1875.

§ It is at the top of the Dürer MS. at Dresden, and has been reproduced in *Dürers Briefe*, xvii. and 180.

flavus" (the yellow dwarf), thus expresses himself: "Make him formally promise, under hand and seal, not to attack you. Punish him, that he may not be so wicked, but may become wise and listen to you. If he gets angry, tell him you have acted with the best intention. If he refuses to amend, entreat him; go, as it were, on your knees before him. Then promise him that you will repeat ten thousand rosaries for him; that you will go to a thousand holiday-masses, twenty matins and twenty vespers; in short, promise anything you can think of, but give him nothing but words. At last, doubtless, he will turn, will believe you, and will cease from his evil ways. *Probatum est!* Make use of this remedy." Such means, however, were in truth gradually losing their efficacy. The events which were passing around him must have been agitating enough to Dürer's believing mind and lively imagination. We find an example of the unhealthy state of over-excitement to which he was sometimes subject, in the dream that he had on the night of the 30th–31st May, 1525. The following morning he did a water-colour drawing of the celestial phenomenon which had appeared to him, and also attempted to describe it. He fancied he saw enormous masses of water falling in quick succession from the sky—"and though they came from such a height, they seemed to fall quietly. But when the first waterfall which touched the earth came near me, it had acquired such rapidity of movement, and was accompanied by such a wind and roaring, that I was quite terrified, and my whole body trembled when I awoke, and I was a long time before I fully came to myself. But as soon as I rose in the morning, I painted it above what I am now writing, just as I had seen it. God grant all things may turn out for the best." *

* The sheet containing this drawing and description is in the Ambras Collection at Vienna. Heller, Part i. 45, No. 4. *Dürers Briefe*, &c., 138.

Everything tends to show that Dürer, whose gentle nature was opposed to all extremes, kept well aloof from the extravagant controversial doctrines of the times. The leaning to the party of Zwinglius, which one account ascribes to him, can easily be explained by the conciliatory position he, in common with his friend Melanchthon, took up on the occasion of the unhappy controversy about the Lord's Supper between Luther and the Swiss. Dürer certainly knew Ulrich Zwinglius and his friends. Master Felix Frey (born 1470, died 1555), the first reformed provost of the collegiate church of St. Charles at Zurich, and who from his name was perhaps a relative of Dürer's wife, sent the painter a little book, and asked him for a sketch of a dance of monkeys. Dürer granted the request, and when he sent the sketch on the 5th December, 1523, begged Felix Frey to give his remembrances to "Herr Zwingli, Hans Leu (the painter), Hans Urich, and other good friends;"* and he adds, "Divide the five little things among you; I have nothing else new." So the Swiss Reformer received one of the engravings, which are here referred to as "little things," and among which probably were the 'Great Cardinal' and the two 'Apostles' of 1523. At the same time it would be rather venturesome to conjecture that Dürer did not continue to adhere firmly to the Wittenberg confession of faith. He certainly remained true to it until his death, otherwise his widow would hardly have spent so large a portion of the fortune left her by him on the foundation of a theological scholarship at the University of Wittenberg, to the great joy of Melanchthon.†

It was to Melanchthon especially that Dürer appears to have closely attached himself; and the former seems,

* The original letter is at Basle. It has been published by Murr, *Journal*, x. 47; in Campe, *Reliquien*, 52; and in *Dürers Briefe*, 50.

† See vol. i. p. 151.

in return, to have been strongly drawn towards the thoughtful and gifted artist. Their first meeting probably took place in the year 1518, when at the recommendation of his cousin, Reuchlin, Melanchthon was summoned to Wittenberg by the Elector Frederick. On his journey thither from Tübingen he passed through Nuremberg, and must have made Dürer's acquaintance at the house of Pirkheimer, although it was not till his second and third visits to Nuremberg, in 1525 and 1526, that their more intimate friendship was formed. We are indebted to this intimacy, into which Joachim Camerarius was also soon drawn, for a number of most remarkable utterances made by Dürer and about him. They are highly characteristic of the two men, and do honour to both of them. The ruder the clash of opinions at Nuremberg, the more must the gentle and conciliating manner of Melanchthon have worked upon Dürer's sympathies: for as Luther himself said, "Master Philip goes about everything so gently and quietly, building and planting, sowing and watering with joy, according to the gifts which God has given him abundantly;" and Dürer's engraving of him, done in 1526, fully corresponds with this description. Indeed, when we look at the broad head, the high prominent forehead, and the sweet persuasive smile, the inscription placed above the portrait seems all too modest:

> "Viventis potuit Durerius ora Philippi
> Mentem non potuit pingere docta manus."

It is the best portrait which we have of the "*Praeceptor Germaniae.*" *

Dürer must indeed have worked at Melanchthon's likeness with very different feelings from those with which he

* Bartsch, No. 105. The plate was still in existence at Nuremberg in 1802. Von Eye inquires about it in the *Anzeiger für Kunst der Vorzeit*, 1864, xi. 16. According to Passavant (*Peintre Graveur*, vol. iii. p. 156), it is in the Grand Ducal Collection at Gotha.

engraved the portrait of Erasmus of Rotterdam * in the same year. He had twice, when at Brussels in 1520, done charcoal sketches of this celebrated scholar.† There exists an impression of the engraving, upon the back of which the astronomer, Nicolas Kratzer, whose name we have often mentioned, has written a note in Latin to the effect that he was present when Dürer drew the portrait of Erasmus.‡ From the time the sketch was made, the vainglorious and conceited humanist never ceased referring, in his letters to Wilibald Pirkheimer, to the execution of his portrait, and backing up his very plain hints by exaggerated praise of Dürer.§ The latter yielded at length to this gentle pressure; but the charcoal-drawing was probably not enough to work at the engraving from, and Dürer's recollection of the features of Erasmus had faded away. Consequently the head failed considerably, both as to likeness and expression. To try and make up for these defects, which he no doubt was conscious of, Dürer bestowed particular care on the accessories. Erasmus is represented half-length, in satin robes, standing writing at a desk in his favourite attitude, and surrounded by folios, with a vase full of beautiful flowers beside him. In technical execution this portrait of Erasmus, "which makes the writings appear more beautiful than the writer," is as superior to that of Melanchthon as it is inferior to it in truthfulness, fidelity, and sentiment. Erasmus was courteous enough to excuse the want of resemblance by saying that he knew he had altered in five years.‖

* Bartsch, 107.

† *Dürers Briefe*, p. 91.

‡ Hausmann, *A. Dürers Kupferstiche*, &c., 39. This impression belongs to Herr Geheimrath Wolff at Bonn.

§ Erasmus, *Opera omnia*, Leyden, 1703–6, iii. 721 *et seq.* *Pirkheimeri Opera*, &c., ed. Goldast, Frankfort, 1610, p. 275 *et seq.* See also on this subject Dumesnil, *Histoire des Amateurs*, v. 392 *et seq.*; and Grimm, *Ueber Künstler*, ii. 135 *et seq.*

‖ Letter of July 30th, 1526: "Al-

The portraits of Melanchthon and Erasmus were the last of Dürer's engravings on copper. They mark, indeed, the end of his artistic career; for he bade farewell at the same time to wood engraving and painting. It only remains to us consequently to notice his last works in these two branches of art. First, there is the celebrated likeness of the Imperial Counsellor, Ulrich Varenbüler, done in 1522, the largest and most important of Dürer's portraits on wood.* Varenbüler was a learned friend of Erasmus and of Pirkheimer, much valued by both, and often mentioned in their letters. Pirkheimer dedicated to him, in very flattering terms, his edition of Lucian's dialogue, *Navis et Vota*. He had been since 1507 Protonotary of the Supreme Court of the Empire, and in 1531 was made Chancellor of this tribunal.† Dürer has represented him half-length, turned to the right, almost in profile; the face has a bold, cheerful expression; the hair is confined in a net, and he wears a large hat with a broad slashed brim. In an inscription, which is imperfect, Dürer declares that he wished to do honour to one whom he particularly loved, and to make him known to posterity.‡ The firm, decided outline of the profile shows a marvellous accuracy of hand; and this quality is even more apparent in the original drawing for the woodcut, which is now in the

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berto Durero, quam gratiam referre queam, cogito. Dignus est aeterna memoria. Si minus respondet effigies mirum non est. Non enim sum is, qui fui ante annos quinque."

* Bartsch, 155; Heller, 1952.

† *Notizen über Varenbüler* in the *Neuen literar. Anzeiger*, Leipzig, 1807, col. 257 to 260, 331, 438.

‡ The puzzling hiatus, formed by a perpendicular white stripe in the Gothic lettering of the inscription, might be completed thus: "Albertus Durer Noric(u)s hac imagine Ulrichum cognom(en)to Varnbuler, Ro. Caesarei Regiminis in Imperio a Secretis, simul (ar)chigrammateum, ut quem amet unice, etiam posteritati (vul)t cognitum reddere, c(olere)que conatur." The letters that are wanting form, with a little transposition, *Varenvuollere*, which is something like the name Varenbuler, and such perhaps may have been the object of this anagrammatic conceit.

Albertina. It is of the same size, but in reverse, and is done with two different-coloured charcoals; the flesh, the hair, and the hair-net being of a brownish colour, and the remainder black. The sharply defined spring of the nose from the forehead, and the contour of the full lips, are rendered with inimitable delicacy.* No doubt the drawing belongs to the same year as the woodcut. Dürer must have found some opportunities of intercourse with his friend during the Diet which was then sitting at Nuremberg; and it is probably to the same time that the little note belongs in which Johann Tscherte invites Dürer and Varenbüler to breakfast.†

In the year 1523 Dürer devoted a large fine woodcut to his own arms:—the double doors open, upon a triple rounded hillock, and surmounted by the bust of a negro.‡ They are the same that his father bore, and were probably brought by the latter from his native Hungarian home; at least, the triple rounded hillock is not an unusual feature in Hungarian escutcheons.§ Dürer next transferred to the wood block a small, simple, but masterly half-length portrait of his new friend, the poet Eoban Hesse, holding a roll of paper in his right hand.‖ This work

* The much-prized chiaroscuro impressions of this woodcut, printed in two tints, do not belong to Dürer's time, but were first done in the Netherlands in the 17th century. Later impressions bear the following address: "Men vintre ze te coope by Hendrick Hondius Plaetsneyder ins Gravenhage." Nor can the carefully coloured impressions of this portrait, and of that of the Emperor Maximilian, such as are, for instance, to be found at Oxford in the University Collection, be ascribed to Dürer; they are evidently, from the miniature-like finish of the painting, the work of some contemporary illuminator.

† *Dürers Briefe*, 177 and 241.

‡ Bartsch, 160.

§ See vol. i. p. 46. Consult, for the various coats-of-arms executed by Dürer, A. Grenser's *A. Dürer in seinem Verhältniss zur Heraldik*, in the *Herald.-genealog. Zeitschr.*, Vienna, 1872, ii. 67–157. The article is accompanied by plates.

‖ Heller, 2172; Passavant, 218; Retberg, 267. The portrait is printed on a loose sheet, with accompanying verses on both sides, and bears the date 1527. I have seen, however, an impression without this date, and with the following inscription at the bottom: "Talis enim pulchram Peg-

was executed probably in 1526; for Hesse himself states that Dürer did his portrait in that year.* A portrait of Hesse, drawn by Dürer with the silver-point, but now very much rubbed out, is in the British Museum. To the year 1526 belongs also Dürer's last woodcut of a religious subject, viz., the 'Holy Family,' with two naked children, seated, playing in the foreground—a beautiful little picture, engraved with unusual care and delicacy.†

In the same year Dürer painted a half-length figure of the Virgin, nearly life-size, upon a black ground, and within a very narrow compass. She wears a rose-coloured garment, and is seen full-face, with the eyes cast down; her fair hair is put back behind the ears, and falls over her shoulders; she holds an oblong-shaped apple in her left hand, and carries upon her right arm the Infant Christ, in whose left hand is a blue cornflower. The Child is looking to the right with an anxious expression on His face, and the upper part of His head is extraordinarily large, while His limbs are small. The features of the mother are noble and elevated, but without any depth of expression; the mouth is small, and the neck long. Rubbings and repaintings have, however, very much injured the picture, especially in the lower parts of the faces. This 'Virgin with the Cornflower,' as it is called, is now in the Uffizii Gallery at Florence (No. 786).

Three life-size portraits were also painted by Dürer in the course of the year 1526. That of Johann Kleberger, which is

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nesi Eobanus ad urbem Post septem vitae condita lustra fuit;" which, if Hesse was born in 1488 at Bockendorf in Hesse, would make the portrait date back to 1523. But Hesse could hardly have been in Nuremberg so early as that. On the back of the impression is the title: "In imaginem Eobani Hessi sui ab Alberto Durero huius aetatis graphice expressam, aliquot Epigrammata," &c.

* Kämmel, *Joachim Camerarius in Nürnberg*, Zittau, 1862, p. 15. Though Hesse uses the word *pingere*, there is no reason for supposing that he is speaking of a picture.

† Bartsch, 98.

treated in the style of an antique bust, is painted on a background the colour of green marble, and surrounded by a circular grey border: it is now in the Imperial Gallery at Vienna. The realistic colouring, the powerful modelling of the flesh, and the position of the head, in three-quarter profile, are all in flagrant contradiction with the ordinary requirements of a medallion. The arrangement is elaborately worked out, but the execution is stiff and dry. Taken altogether the picture is unpleasing, and it is now, moreover, sadly disfigured by repainting; it has, in fact, all the appearance of an unfortunate attempt made to gratify the wishes of the person who ordered it. This Hans Kleberger is the same who two years later married Felicitas, the favourite daughter of Wilibald Pirkheimer, and widow of the younger Hans Imhoff, and who deserted her a few days afterwards. Her heart was broken by this cruelty; but Kleberger subsequently acquired such a good name at Lyons that to this day a stone monument perpetuates his memory there, and the remembrance of the "bon Allemand" still lives among the people. It was from his descendants at Lyons that Wilibald Imhoff, son of Felicitas, obtained in 1564 this picture of Dürer's.*

The second portrait is that of the Septemvir Jacob Muffel, with whom Dürer must have been on intimate terms, for he brought him a scarlet handkerchief from the Netherlands. Muffel died on the 19th of April, 1526.† It is probable, therefore, that Dürer painted the portrait after his death, partly from memory, and partly with the assistance of some

* A. v. Eye, *Dürer*, Supplement, p. 532. This statement is taken from Wil. Imhoff's account-book. He gave a person named Rieger, who acted as agent in the matter, a silver drinking-cup for his trouble. This is another proof that the Imhoff collection of Dürer's works was not inherited, but purchased.

† Biedermann, *Geschlechtsregister des Patriziats zu Nürnberg*, plate 485.

earlier drawing. This may account for the dry tone of the flesh, notwithstanding all the care taken in the execution. Muffel wears a black fur cap, and a hair-net with gold threads. The original was formerly in the Pommersfeld Gallery, and afterwards came into the possession of a Russian amateur, Prince Narischkine, who paid a high price for it. There are two copies belonging to private individuals at Nuremberg, one of which is exhibited in the Germanic Museum.

The third, and by far the most important, portrait of the year 1526 is that of Hieronymus Holzschuher, also a Septemvir and friend of Dürer's, and the sharer of his opinions. He was born in 1469, and died on the 9th of May, 1529. Dürer brought him a present from the Netherlands in the shape of "an enormous horn."* The picture is still in the possession of the Holzschuher family, who have lent it for exhibition to the Germanic Museum at Nuremberg. A good engraving of it on copper was done by Frederic Wagner in 1843. We here see Dürer's "great diligence" bestowed for the last time on a picture. This portrait of Holzschuher is one of the most precious examples of his painting. The conception of the nobly formed grey head, still so fresh and hale, is marvellously life-like. The brightness of the clear eyes is heightened by the reflection on the pupils of the light from the windows, while the sidelong glance gives a touch of humour to the benevolent features. The white hair and beard are strangely belied by the rosy colour of the flesh, the warm tints of which, evidently closely copied from nature, are in no way interfered with by the delicate grey of the shadows; the hair and beard are rendered with a brilliancy and care never surpassed by Dürer in his best days. It is true they stand out harshly from the dark fur trimming and the black damask of the coat, but the original light dull green back-

* Biedermann, plate 173; *Dürers Briefe*, p. 113, l. 25.

ground must have harmonised admirably with their silvery whiteness. Unfortunately this background was painted over by Rottermund, at the beginning of the present century, with a dark colour, which has almost obliterated the inscription in the left-hand top corner, and has also just slightly encroached upon the hair. The few retouches to the flesh are of little consequence, and not enough to affect the excellent state of preservation of the picture as a whole. This little panel still possesses its original frame or case, with a movable cover, upon which the arms of the Holzschuhers, within a wreath, are painted with broad touches of the brush.

Thus we find Dürer, at the close of his artistic career, chiefly occupied in providing for the fame of his friends by immortalising their features in engravings, woodcuts, and paintings. Some of these portraits were done in fulfilment of long-made promises, which he hastened to carry out before it was too late. At the same time he cherished the ambitious desire of giving, in one last great picture, evidence of the progress of his taste, and of leaving this picture to his native city as a monument of his patriotic and religious sentiments. The result of this wish was the picture called 'The Four Apostles,' or 'The Four Temperaments,' finished in the year 1526, and now in the Pinakothek at Munich. In this work is embodied the master's entire being. He has reached in it the goal of his efforts in art, in philosophical speculation, and in religion. It is the last outburst of his creative power before being finally extinguished. Each of the two high narrow panels which compose the picture contains, after the old simple fashion, the figure of a single Apostle, standing upright, and the bust of a second, whose body is hidden by the other's robes. This simplicity of arrangement causes the paintings to derive the whole of their impressive effect from the wonderful flow of the draperies and the powerful

expression of the heads, upon whose brows is plainly written the boldest work of the German people—the Reformation!

For ten years past Dürer had delighted in the representation of Apostles' heads, and knew how to fashion them with marvellous sympathy and devotion. Precious examples of this are furnished by the water-colour drawings on very fine canvas of 'St. Philip' and 'St. James,' done in 1516, and now in the Uffizii Gallery at Florence. Each Apostle shows a countenance of great individuality, and yet plainly neither one nor the other is a mere study from nature; such studies may indeed have been made use of, but the character of the heads to be represented has been taken into consideration in composing them. Such was Dürer's conception of style in his later years. He followed no general rule of taste, no especial type, not even, as he had formerly done, any particular model furnished by nature; but he created out of various scattered elements a particular ideal for each historical personage. Hence the diversity of realistic elements in his work, combined with simplicity and grandeur of form. This method, the result partly of observation and partly of reflection, may be recognised in the studies for the heads of the four Apostles. One done from nature, life-size, for the head of St. Mark, and lightly sketched in chalk on brown-tinted paper, is in the Berlin Museum.* The few lights in this are admirably put in; the face is full of expression, but much more youthful than in the painting, and has a hectic look, while the neck is too long. For his 'St. Peter,' Dürer employed that wonderful pen-drawing in the Albertina, done in 1521 at Antwerp, of the old man, who, notwithstanding his ninety-three years, was still active and healthy. He has merely left out the cap, and somewhat shortened the beard,

* Former Posonyi-Hulot Collection, No. 351 in the catalogue. It bears the genuine date, 1526.

in deference to the recognised type of St. Peter; but the position of the head, the weary expression, and the furrowed features, are retained down to the smallest details, such as, for instance, the three-cornered hollow above the point of the nose.

Dürer took no less pains with the draperies, by the careful choice of which he aided materially the effect of his characters. Never has any master understood so well as Dürer that incomprehensible something in the turn of a fold of drapery which charms and subdues the eye. He was unwearied in this study; but he becomes more intelligible to us in proportion as he abandons the stiff satins and heavy brocades of the Flemish school, and makes use of softer woollen or cloth stuffs. As has been already mentioned, Dürer began, in 1514, a series of engravings of full-length figures of the Apostles. To the two small plates completed in that year, he added, in 1523, two more—those of 'St. Simon' and 'St. Bartholomew.'* A large, almost life-size, study in oil of an old man's head, appears to have been painted after the model which served for these two engravings. It passed from the possession of the Regierungsrath von Holzschuher at Augsburg into the Suermondt Gallery, and was transferred, with the rest of that collection, to the Museum at Berlin. The treatment is somewhat broad and superficial; it has been subordinated to the interest felt by the master in the physiognomical study.† In 1523 Dürer prepared the designs for some other plates, intended to form part of the same series, and to include an aged figure of the Virgin, sitting with a book upon her knees, the sketch for which was done in 1521, and is now in the Albertina. These designs are in

* Bartsch, 47 and 49.

† J. Meyer and W. Bode, *Verzeichniss der Sammlung Suermondt*, Berlin, 1875, No. 7. The picture was formerly in the collection of the Geheimrath Kirschbaum in Munich, and was sold in 1849. See Heller, p. 199.

chalk, on a light-green ground, very slightly heightened; four of them are in the Albertina, and a fifth, representing a sitting figure of Judas Thaddæus, is in the Berlin Museum.

One of these Apostles, who, with folded hands, gazes upwards, and who is probably intended to represent St. John, has been supposed to be a likeness of Martin Luther, on account of some distant resemblance of the face to the latter's portrait;* but this is quite a mistake, for it is only the head of a model which repeatedly occurs in Dürer's works. Perhaps for a similar reason the outlines of the same figure were—during the sixteenth century, while all the drawings Dürer left behind him still remained at Nuremberg—introduced by a copyist into an incomplete engraving of 'Christ on the Cross,' containing several figures, and among them, on the right, St. John. Sandrart mentions this great unfinished 'Crucifixion,' which has ever since excited the imagination of amateurs as a rarity.† On the other hand, the large woodcut in which Christ appears on the cross surrounded by three angels, who float around and collect His blood in chalices,‡ was certainly engraved after a drawing of Durer's, done in 1520, or a little later. Only the old impressions, in which the upper part of the body of the lowest angel is alone visible, reproduce with clearness the simple majesty of the design; and these are very rare. In later impressions the robe and hand of the angel, and the foot of the cross, are completed by the addition of a second block, very roughly engraved by a strange hand. Thus made up, the woodcut was used as a heading to the printed

* Rudolf Weigel, *Dr. Martin Luther, abgebildet von Albrecht Dürer*, with an engraving, in the *Deutscher Kunstblatt*, 1850, No. 38, p. 297. The figure has also been lithographed in L. Förster's *Copien aus der Albertina.*

† Heller, No. 2250; Passavant, No. 109; Retberg, No. 253. Compare Hausmann, p. 39 *et seq.* This spurious work has been wonderfully well copied by Nussbiegel.

‡ Bartsch, 58; Heller, 1643.

prayers for indulgences; and fresh impressions were subsequently taken from it by Derschau. In 1523, when Dürer was so actively engaged with his studies of Apostles, he once more did a design for a 'Last Supper,' which was carried out in the beautiful oblong woodcut of the same year, and in which, following the example of the Italian masters, he has assembled the Saviour and the twelve Apostles round a long, narrow table.* The preliminary study for this composition, a pen-drawing in the Albertina of the same year, is worthy of notice. In it Dürer has placed Jesus and St. John on the right, at the end of the table. Being convinced, however, that he could not in this way ever succeed in making the principal figure stand out sufficiently, he placed the Saviour in the middle of the table, and so in the centre of the composition. Thus the subject which so engrossed Dürer was continually bearing fresh fruit, and each single figure of his invention acts and moves as though endowed with its own individual life.

The same robe, thrown in different ways over the model, served for all the studies of the Apostles intended for engraving. One particular arrangement of the folds so pleased and satisfied Dürer, that not only did he retain it in one of the drawings we have spoken of, but he used it again twice over; first in the fifth and last plate of the series of Apostles, begun in 1523, but not finished till 1526, representing St. Philip;† and a second time in the white mantle of the 'St. Paul' in the Munich picture of 'The Four Apostles.' Upon this picture Dürer finally concentrated all his attention. The thought which he bestowed upon it before commencing the work tends to confirm the old tradition,

* Bartsch, 53.

† Bartsch, No. 46. The originally engraved 3, can be clearly distinguished under the 6 of the date. The drapery, like the whole figure, is, of course, not shown on the same side in the engraving as in the drawing and painting.

which recent researches have discredited, that he intended to represent here the four temperaments. What significance this fourfold division had for Dürer and his age has been already explained. The writing-master, Johann Neudörffer,* who first stated that the four figures really had this meaning, was a contemporary of Dürer's; he also knew him personally, and could not therefore easily have made a mistake as to the idea which was uppermost in his mind at the time of the picture's completion. Dürer himself, in his 'Treatise on Proportion,' † expressly professes to indicate, by means of the outward measurements and proportions of the figures, to which of the four temperaments they belong. The original explanation may therefore be taken as the correct one, and the two panels at Munich be considered as placing before us types of the four complexions; the one panel representing the passive, the other the active natures. Thus St. John represents the melancholic temperament, and St. Peter the phlegmatic; St. Paul the choleric temperament, and St. Mark the sanguine. The latter, it may be remarked, is not an Apostle at all, but an Evangelist. This work of Dürer's, therefore, should properly be called 'The Four Apostles and Evangelists,' or else 'The Four Temperaments.' The only reproductions of it worth anything are the two lithographs by N. Strixner; at the same time the woodcuts we give here, notwithstanding their small size, are far more true to the original.

The choice of these four saints, and, still more, the preference given to St. Paul over St. Peter, the former being brought decidedly to the front, and the latter placed in the

* *Nachrichten*, 37.

† *Proportionslehre*, original edition of 1528, fol. Tiii. "Thus, one finds in the human species various types which may be used for different figures according to the complexion of the individual." And on the next leaf is the following passage: "By means of outward proportions one can indicate the natures of men, which correspond to fire, air, water, and earth, for the power of art is supreme."

ST. JOHN AND ST. PETER.

(From the Picture in the Pinakothek at Munich.)

ST. PAUL AND ST. MARK.

(From the Picture in the Pinakothek at Munich.)

background, indicate very clearly Dürer's Protestant point of view. St. John, Luther's favourite Evangelist, is also placed in the foreground. In the delicate moulding of his fair head, Retberg* has discovered a likeness to Melanchthon, from whom it may well be that some of the features were borrowed. St. John wears a red robe lined with yellow, over a green under-garment; his eyes are fixed thoughtfully on the open book, on which can be read in German the first words of his Gospel: "*Im Anfange war das Wort*" ("In the beginning was the Word"). Near him stands, quite in the background, St. Peter, a weary-looking old man, who gazes with a discontented look at the same book. In point of execution and preservation this panel, which is to the left of the spectator, is by no means equal to the other. The figure of St. Peter especially is very broadly painted, and Dürer has been content to add a few delicate touches here and there after it was finished. The profile of St. John seems to have been repainted and altered at a later date; the nose and forehead being made to project more, as a very visible *pentimento* clearly shows.

Upon the right panel appears the master's own particular hero, St. Paul, the Apostle of the Gentiles, one of the grandest figures ever imagined, only comparable in its conception to Dürer's ideal of Christ. It is not indeed equal in nobility of soul to the divine sufferer who commanded St. Peter to put back his sword into its sheath. St. Paul is no martyr, he is rather the man of war, and the mighty sword which he holds in his hand is less the emblem of his own punishment than the instrument with which to execute judgment upon others. Look at the broad, strong figure,

* *Nürnbergs Kunstleben*, Stuttgard, 1854, p. 117. The resemblance between St. John's delicate features and those of Frederick Schiller has often been remarked upon as a curious coincidence.

standing firm and upright, completely enveloped in the folds of a long white robe, beneath which, just where the right hand and left foot are visible, can be seen a little of the deep red tunic; mark the sunburnt, rounded, bony head on the thick bull-like neck, the eyes which look quietly sideways as of one lying in ambush, the swollen veins in the temples, and it is impossible to help fancying that the next moment the saint will break forth with word and blow to conquer and destroy. Behind him stands his companion, St. Mark the Evangelist, pale and trembling with nervous excitement, as though eagerly seeking an opponent, or striving to find out what his companion was about to do. The look of restlessness and disquiet in St. Mark's face is more noticeable than it was, owing to the large cracks in the flesh colours. Some deleterious pigment seems to have caused these fissures in the cold grey tones at an early date. These tones form a great contrast to the deep reddish colour of St. Paul's flesh, the life-like appearance of which is heightened by the excessively bright lights. For the rest, it was the St. Paul, and the St. Paul alone, which the master executed with boundless devotion, down to the smallest details, and it is the only figure which is in an almost complete state of preservation. His robe especially is a miracle of sculpturesque effect in painting. Sombre and dark in the shadows, it passes through rich gradations of greenish-grey tints till it reaches in the highest lights to a pure white.

The age of the Reformation could in truth have erected no worthier monument to the Apostle whom it had chosen as its standard-bearer, and whose spiritual affinity to Luther it discerned so clearly. But in order that no doubt should remain as to what was the intention and meaning of his picture, Dürer placed underneath each of the two panels, in small black Gothic letters upon a white ground, passages out of the Bible as translated by Luther, taken from the

writings of the persons represented. They were preceded by the following exhortation to the public authorities:

"All secular rulers should be careful in these dangerous times that they do not accept the seduction of men for the Word of God; for God will not have anything taken from his Holy Word, nor added to it. Hear therefore these four excellent men, Peter, John, Paul, and Mark! and listen to their warning.

"Peter speaks thus in the 2nd chapter of his 2nd Epistle:

'But there were false prophets also among the people, even as there shall be false teachers among you, who privily shall bring in damnable heresies, even denying the Lord that bought them, and bring upon themselves swift destruction. And many shall follow their pernicious ways; by reason of whom the way of truth shall be evil spoken of. And through covetousness shall they with feigned words make merchandise of you: whose judgment now of a long time lingereth not, and their damnation slumbereth not.'

"John, in the 4th chapter of his 1st Epistle, writes thus:

'Beloved, believe not every spirit, but try the spirits whether they are of God: because many false prophets are gone out into the world. Hereby know ye the Spirit of God: every spirit that confesseth that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh, is of God: and every spirit that confesseth not that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh, is not of God: and this is that spirit of antichrist, whereof ye have heard that it should come; and even now already is it in the world.'"

These words which Dürer places in the mouth of the two contemplative spirits, men of constancy and endurance, are a plain protest against the innovators, the radical sectaries, the Anabaptists, and the Deists. The energetic combative temperaments, on the other hand, address themselves to more powerful enemies, to the adherents of the old faith, to immoral priests and opinionative humanists. For these Dürer adds the following words:

"In the 3rd chapter of his 2nd Epistle to Timothy, St. Paul thus writes:

'This know also, that in the last days perilous times shall come. For men shall be lovers of their own selves, covetous, boasters, proud, blasphemous, disobedient to parents, unthankful, unholy, without natural

affection, truce-breakers, false accusers, incontinent, fierce, despisers of those that are good, traitors, heady, highminded, lovers of pleasures more than lovers of God; having a form of godliness, but denying the power thereof: from such turn away. For of this sort are they which creep into houses, and lead captive silly women laden with sins, led away with divers lusts, ever learning, and never able to come to the knowledge of the truth.'

"St. Mark writes in the 12th chapter of his Gospel:

'And he said unto them in his doctrine, Beware of the scribes, which love to go in long clothing, and love salutations in the market-places, and the chief seats in the synagogues, and the uppermost rooms at feasts: which devour widows' houses, and for a pretence make long prayers: these shall receive greater damnation.'"

Dürer had a particular object in placing these warnings below the pictures, for he intended the two panels as a gift to his native city. In the autumn of the year 1526 he sent them to the Council with a letter, in which he stated that it had been long his intention to present the city with some trifling little (*kleinwürdiges*) picture as a remembrance, but that he had been obliged to forego it on account of the imperfections of his "wretchedly poor works;" "knowing," he adds, "as I do that I could not have done myself justice before your worships with them. But having lately painted a picture on which I have bestowed more care than on any other painting, I consider no one more worthy than your worships to receive it as a remembrance." With this he presented the panels to the Council, begging humbly that they would accept his little present with kindness and favour.* The Council granted his request on the 6th of October, 1526, but would not take the diptych as a present; and "though they were grateful to him for his work, and would keep it as a remembrance, they were none the less desirous of paying him what it was worth." As he, however, would not name a price, the

* Campe, *Reliquien*, 57; *Dürers Briefe*, 57.

Council sent him a present of 100 florins; his wife received besides 12 Rhenish florins, and his servant two.* The panels were hung up in the tax-chamber (*Losungsstube*).

For just a century Dürer's gift remained in its place of honour in the Town Hall at Nuremberg. In the year 1627, however, the Elector Maximilian of Bavaria importuned the Council so earnestly for the pictures, that at length they sent them to him on the 27th of August of the same year.† The opinion given by Dr. Oelhafen, consulting advocate to the Council, in summing up the result of their deliberations, is worth notice. They had had, he said, excellent copies of both Dürer's panels made by Georg Gärtner, and these were to be sent to the Elector at the same time as the originals. The motives for doing this were: that the best Nuremberg painters acknowledged the copies "to be not far off the originals;" that the originals, moreover, were in a bad state, and so there was the hope that the Elector might prefer the copies; the whole face of St. Mark and the robe of St. John were very much injured; and, finally, that "the verses about Antichrist, the institutions of men, and pride, taken from the four Gospels, which were added to the originals, would undoubtedly cause the Jesuits at Munich to advise their being sent back." In regard to the last point they were not so far wrong. But Maximilian knew how to get out of the difficulty. He had the objectionable inscriptions cut off and fastened to the copies, which he then sent back in all haste to Nuremberg; and they are still to be seen there in the Town Hall with the original inscriptions attached to them.‡

* Baader, *Beiträge* i. 9; *Dürers Briefe*, p. 181.

† Baader, *Beiträge* i. 12–14.

‡ A. Reindel's engraving is done chiefly from these copies, and is therefore imperfect, and the forms are wanting in fulness. As to what still remained of Dürer's works in the Town Hall, the Council presented them, in the year 1635, to King Charles I. of England, who thanked them in a letter, "de dato e nostro palatio Westmonastrj die xviii. Martii 1636."—Baader, *Beiträge*, 14.

It would be difficult, indeed, to find another work of art, so simple and so grand, and at the same time so full of thought, so rich in the deepest spiritual associations, as Dürer's 'Four Apostles' or 'Four Temperaments.' They are his legacy as an artist, as a man, as a patriot, and as a Gospel Christian. Looking at these pictures, we can understand his outpourings to Melanchthon, of which the latter speaks in a letter of the 17th of December, 1547, to Georg von Anhalt.* "I remember how that great man, distinguished alike by his intellect and his virtue, Albert Dürer the painter, said that as a youth he had loved bright pictures full of figures, and when considering his own productions had always most admired those with the greatest variety in them. But as an older man he had begun to observe Nature and reproduce it in its native form, and had learned that this simplicity was the greatest ornament of Art. Being unable completely to attain to this ideal, he said that he was no longer an admirer of his works as heretofore, but often sighed when he looked at his pictures and thought over his want of power." In a letter to Hardenburg, too, Melanchthon remembers having heard Dürer say, that in his youth he had found great pleasure in representing monstrous and unusual figures, but that in his later years he endeavoured to observe Nature and to imitate her as closely as possible; experience however had taught him

* "Memini virum excellentem ingenio et virtute Albertum Durerum pictorem dicere, se juvenem floridas et maxime varias picturas amasse, seque admiratorem suorum operum valde laetatum esse contemplantem hanc varietatem in aliqua pictura. Postea se senem coepisse intueri naturam et illius nativam faciem imitari conatum esse, eamque simplicitatem tunc intellexisse summum artis decus esse. Quam cum non prorsus adsequi posset, dicebat se jam non esse admiratorem operum suorum ut olim, sed saepe gemere intuentem suas tabulas ac cogitantem de infirmitate sua. Tantum cum fuerit illius viri studium in arte non summa, saepe doleo et indignor, non esse similem diligentiam nostri ordinis in quaerenda simplicissima explicatione doctrinae coelestis." This letter has been printed. See Melanchthon, *Epistolarum*, L. I. Viteb. 1870, p. 100; Strobel, *Miscell.-literarischen Inhalts* VI. 210.

how difficult it was not to err.* Melanchthon speaks still more frequently of the restless self-criticism in which Dürer indulged; how he was well satisfied with pictures he had just finished, but when he saw them after a time, was ashamed of them; and those he had painted with the greatest care, displeased him so much at the end of three years that he could scarcely look at them without great pain.†

We have already had sufficient instances illustrative of Dürer's inexhaustible passion for self-improvement, and showing that his only object was the satisfaction of his own ripened judgment. We will add but one more, and that is a pen-drawing in the Albertina of 1524, representing the 'Adoration of the Magi.' Even in the reduced facsimile which accompanies our text two tints can be recognised, the Holy Family being lighter than the group of the three Kings, a proof that the composition was executed at two different times of the day. Twenty years before Dürer had treated the same subject three times: in chiaroscuro in the 'Green Passion,' as a woodcut in the 'Life of the Virgin,' and in oils in the picture now in the Uffizii at Florence; and each time

* Epist. ad Alb. Hardenbergium, Bremae, 1589, fol. G, 3, and Strobel. "Memini Durerum pictorem, qui dicebat se adolescentem in pingendo amasse monstrosas et inusitatas figuras: nunc senem intueri naturam et conari, quantum omnino posset eam maxime imitari, sed experiendo se cognoscere, quam difficile sit non aberrare a natura." And in his letters to Joachim Camerarius (p. 303) Melanchthon subsequently applies in a very ingenious manner these principles of Dürer's to Camerarius's style of writing: "Propemodum ut Dureri picturas, ita scripta tua discerno; Durerianae grandes et splendidae omnes, sed posteriores minus rigidae et quasi blandiores fuerunt. Ita cum nunc copiam et splendorem ames et sonum grandiorem, efficies postea, ut quasi nonnihil remissis fidibus oratio sit etiam hilarior, qualis est oratio tua fere in familiaribus epistolis," &c.

† Manlius, *Loc. com. coll.*, Bas. 1563, II. 22: "Audivi a Durero, qui dicebat, se mirabiliter delectari picturis suis recens factis, postea cum ex intervallo temporis easdem aspiceret, earum ipsum valde pudere." And in the same work (II. 301) we read: "Albertus Durerus saepe dicebat, quod cum pinxisset aliquid, qua potuisset summa cura et diligentia, ac deinde post triennium idem inspiceret, mirabiliter displiceret, ita ut vix sine ingenti dolore intueri posset."

the scene is laid in a wide airy landscape full of variety and life. But how far the conception we are now considering surpasses these in simplicity, in originality, and in grandeur! The Mother of God, entirely enveloped in drapery as is the custom in the North, and holding in her lap the Infant wrapped in swaddling clothes, is full at the same time of humility and of dignity; beside them, hat in hand and with a modest air, stands the simple foster-father; opposite St. Joseph is the majestic figure of the most aged of the three Kings standing between the other two. All the personages are on one plan and within a very confined area. Thus Dürer, without the aid of foreign models, and merely following his own inspiration, attained that simple grandeur of pictorial representation which drew upon him and upon all German art the severe reproach of Michel Angelo. There was no neglect, however, by Dürer of the inward meaning and moral significance which should always be found in works of art. His figures, without strain or exaggeration, assume in virtue of their intrinsic character grandiose proportions, and are at the same time powerfully expressive.

While Dürer with these thoughts in his mind was meditating how to give them shape in some last great work, he was also considering the position he should take up with regard to the ecclesiastical disruptions of the time. By avoiding equally both the extreme parties within his own immediate circle who were fighting against reform, he wished to reconcile all the contradictions which had struggled within his own soul and oppressed it. In common with the best men of his country, he foreboded the gloomy future likely to result from such discord, but he was large-hearted enough to be ready to sacrifice himself personally to the common good. As a painter, he had far stronger aversions to overcome than many a pedantic scholar, for the cause of art had gravely suffered through the Reformation. But he did not

F.W. BADER WIEN.

THE ADORATION OF THE MAGI.

(*From the Pen Drawing of* 1524 *in the Albertina at Vienna.*)

TO FACE P. 276, VOL. II.

allow himself to be turned aside either from his steady path of progress, or from his belief in the high claims of his vocation. "Notwithstanding," he writes in 1525, in the preface to his 'Treatise on Proportion,' "that the art of painting is despised by some in our country and in our day, and men choose to say that it leads to idolatry, yet a Christian man is no more inclined to superstition by a picture or a statue, than any good man is led to commit a murder because he carries a weapon at his side. He must, indeed, be a shallow creature who would adore a picture, bits of wood, or stone. Therefore a painting, if it is honestly conceived and skilfully executed, does more good than harm."

But manifold as was the moral purport we have already ascribed to Dürer in the design of his last painting, there still remains, I think, something more to be said. The 'Four Apostles,' as we see them, seem to be only fragments of a larger whole that was never completed. They are, I cannot help thinking, merely the inner wings of a gigantic altar-piece, of which we can never imagine what the centre would have been like. If this idea should prove well-founded, then the question might be raised as to whether the other double panel, the 'Adam and Eve' of the year 1507, which was still in Dürer's studio, and was also placed afterwards in the Town Hall, was not intended to serve as the outer wings of the same altar-piece. Perhaps Dürer intended to describe, as he understood them, and in his own way, the boundaries between Original Sin and Redemption. But either the task he had set himself appeared too great, or his strength failed him for the work. In short, he contented himself with the execution of the two inner wings, and by the addition of the inscription united them so as to form, at any rate in appearance, a complete whole. The great work which Dürer had intended as a monument of the Reformation remained, like it, an unfinished fragment.

CHAPTER XVII.

ILLNESS AND DEATH OF DÜRER, AND HIS POSTHUMOUS WRITINGS.

"It is impossible that he who has lived well can quit this world untowardly."
DÜRER.

THE evening of Dürer's life was to close in sadly enough. To drag for years the weight of an ailing body is the greatest affliction that can befall a fiery spirit, and this trial was not spared him. Already in his earlier years, in 1503 for instance, he complained of passing illnesses; and in 1507, in his letter to Jacob Heller of the 28th of August, he says that he had been for some time suffering from a fever, which prevented his working.* Excessive exertion, and at the same time the neglect of the ordinary needs of the body, may often have caused such attacks without there being any decided disease underlying them. He seems too, after each attack, always to have taken care to re-establish his health and restore his power of work.

It was the journey to the Netherlands which first seriously undermined his constitution. While endeavouring to avoid the plague which raged in Nuremberg he caught, on the coast of the North Sea, the malignant disease that carried him

* See vol. i. p. 320; and *Dürers Briefe*, p. 24.

off before his time. The unwonted fatigues of the journey, the irregular mode of living in foreign countries, and the constant temptations of an excessive and luxurious hospitality, destroyed the delicate constitution of the master more rapidly than the lifelong excesses of genius could have done. Nor can we quite absolve Dürer from the old hereditary vice for which, as Hamlet says, the German race is notorious throughout the world. Wine holds no unimportant place in the Netherlands Journal, and many a stiver is put down as spent in drink and play with joyous boon companions. This constant, if not excessive, use of wine may have laid the foundation of the disease from which he afterwards suffered, and accelerated its progress.

Dürer's first serious illness attacked him during the adventurous journey to Zeeland, which he undertook in December 1520, merely for the purpose of seeing a whale that had been stranded during a storm. He himself unwittingly points out the unhealthiness of the coast, when in speaking of the huge whale he says: "The fish was not carried away from the shore; the people would be glad to get rid of it, for they are afraid of the stench; it is so large that they say it could not be cut to pieces and the oil extracted in half a year." Before Dürer arrived, however, the tide had carried the whale away again. On the journey he gave a large sum for a thick rug, which he bought no doubt as a protection against the cold and the stormy weather, as well as possibly against attacks of fever. For in the following spring, or still later, he remarks, "When I was formerly in Zeeland a strange sickness fell upon me, of which I never heard before, and this sickness I am still suffering from." He was reminded of this on the occasion of a fresh illness in the third week after Easter, i.e. between the 14th and 20th of April, 1521, when he was again attacked by "a burning fever accompanied by much weak-

ness, nausea, and headache." We cannot of course determine how far these two attacks were connected with one another. But from this time Dürer was always out of health, and his payments to the doctor, the apothecary, and the apothecary's wife, who fulfilled the varied functions then included in the profession of a barber,* are constantly increasing. The only information we have as to the nature of the illness seems to point to some sort of disease of the stomach.

Dürer, however, explains himself more clearly on the subject in a coloured pen-sketch belonging to the Kunsthalle at Bremen. He has here drawn his own figure on a small scale down to the hips, slightly turned to the left, and naked all but a cloth round the waist. To judge by the features, which are vigorously sketched, this drawing must have been done soon after 1520. The hair is still long, but the lion-like mane has become thinner, and the beard has increased in length and thickness, while the body seems still strong and muscular. The outlines are drawn with the pen in Indian ink, the hair is brownish, and the flesh washed over with red; he holds back the left hand, and with the right points to a round yellow spot on his left side between the pit of the stomach and the groin. Above, in his handwriting, are the explanatory words: "*Do der gelb Fleck ist vnd mit dem Finger drawff dewt, do ist mir we*"—"The yellow spot to which my finger points is where it pains me." This drawing was no doubt intended to be enclosed in a letter to some physician whom he wished to consult.† It appears to have been done in the Netherlands, and may have been afterwards sent from home to one of the doctors he had known at Antwerp, to Master Jacob or Master

* Bathing woman, barber, doctor, and surgeon all in one.

† It is 118 millimetres high by 107 wide, and has Dutch and English inscriptions on the back. It has been in the Greffier, Fagel, Roscoe, and Klugkist collections.

Braun. With his usual thoroughness Dürer undressed on purpose, and sketched himself in front of a looking-glass. He certainly marked the extent of the painful spot round the spleen very carefully. Increased to life-size, it would be about as big as the palm of a large hand. The continued pain there shows us clearly the real seat of the disease, and this precise indication, combined with other statements as to the course of Dürer's illness, may admit of our even now forming a diagnosis of it. It was perhaps, as Von Eye has supposed, an intermittent fever which he had caught in the marshes at the mouth of the Scheldt and the Waal, and which is often accompanied by painful inflammation of the spleen. There would be no doubt about this if the expressions in the letter to the Elector Albert of Mayence, of the 4th of September, 1523, "I have sent to your Grace early this year before I became ill," &c., could be understood to imply that Dürer each time anticipated his illness, and that it consequently was one of periodical recurrence.* The other symptoms, such as the wasting away and the sudden end, would also be the natural consequences of an intermittent fever.

Dürer died suddenly and unexpectedly. All statements agree as to this fact. There was no time even for Pirkheimer to hasten to his death-bed and take leave of him. Pirkheimer alludes to this fact in moving terms at the beginning of his Elegy upon Dürer's death:

"Thou who hast been so closely united to me for many long years, Albert, thou best half of my soul, with whom I could safely hold sweet converse, and into whose faithful breast I could freely unbosom myself! Why, O hapless one, hast thou suddenly left thy sorrowing friend, and hastened away with rapid steps never to return again? It was not

* *Reliquien*, 54; *Dürer's Briefe*, p. 47.

granted to me even to touch thy dear head or to grasp thy hand, and say a last word of farewell to thee; for hardly hadst thou laid thy tired limbs down to rest when death snatched thee hastily away," &c.*

Dürer's illness did not entirely hinder his activity until shortly before his death. But he must have imposed great restraints upon himself at the social meetings, which at that time never took place in Nuremberg, especially at Pirkheimer's house, without a great deal of eating and drinking. He became at last much emaciated, or as Pirkheimer, in his angry letter to Tscherte, afterwards expressed it, "he was withered like a bundle of dry straw, and dared not seek amusement anywhere," &c. A large profile likeness, which was published as a woodcut after his death in the year 1528, shows what his appearance was during his last days.† We here see him, at the age of fifty-six, greatly altered and aged beyond measure. The large nose and the cheekbones are strikingly prominent, so much so, that the whole of the head appears shorter and smaller. The hair is stiff, and cut short close to the neck; the beard too is short, but thick and bristly; the head appears somewhat bent forward. It is no longer the lion's head of former days, but an enfeebled man tottering to the grave before his time. The drawing for this wood-

* "*Elegia Bilibaldi Pirckeymheri in obitum Alberti Dureri.*

Qui mihi tam multis fueras junctissimus annis,
Alberte, atque meae maxima pars animae,
Quocum sermones poteram conferre suaves
Tutus, et in fidum spargere verba sinum,
Quur subito infelix moerentem linquis amicum
Et celeri properas non redituro pede?
Non caput optatum licuit, non tangere dextram,
Ultima nec tristi dicere verba vale,
Sed vix tradideras languentia membra grabato
Quum mors accelerans te subito eripuit," &c.

These verses have been printed as an appendix on the last page but one of the 'Treatise on Proportion.'

† Bartsch, No. 156, and Heller, 1953, place this woodcut among Dürer's works.

cut was no doubt made just after Dürer's death by some friendly fellow-artist, perhaps with the help of a plaster cast; for, according to a manuscript in the Germanic Museum at Nuremberg, some artists, the day after his burial, re-opened the grave, in order to model the head of the corpse.*

His firm conviction, that the righteous man must die in peace, was not belied by Dürer himself. We possess, indeed, no statement from any eyewitness as to his last moments; but this the unexpectedness of the event easily accounts for. Except his faithful wife there was probably no one present to close his eyes. Still we should like to think that, amid the visions of his dying moments, may have been granted that prayer to which he gave utterance at the death of his mother: "The Lord God vouchsafe that I also may have a happy end, and that God with His heavenly host, and my father, my mother, and my friends may be present at my end."† Camerarius also informs us that Dürer's death, though premature and unexpected, was a gentle and peaceful one; such, in fact, as every one would wish for.‡

Dürer died in Holy Week, on April 6th, 1528, forty-four days before the completion of his fifty-seventh year. His body was laid in the vault of the Frey family, in St. John's burial-ground. The large tombstone, which, according to the custom of the place, is laid flat, has an upright slab at the head, on which is a brass tablet with the following classical inscription composed by Pirkheimer:

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* *Reliquien*, 173; Von Eye, *Leben Dürers*, 518 and 519. Compare C. Becker in the *Archiv für zeichn. Künste*, *1858*, *IV. 26.*

† *Reliquien*, 149; *Dürers Briefe*, p. 138.

‡ In the preface to the Latin edition of the *Proportionslehre*, 1532: "Sed priusquam absolvere omnia et correcta edere, ut cupierat, posset, morte est ereptus placida illa quidem et optabili, sed profecto nostro quidem judicio praematura."

ME . AL . DV .
QVICQVID ALBERTI DVRERI MORTALE
FVIT, SVB HOC CONDITVR TVMVLO.
EMIGRAVIT VIII. IDVS APRILIS
MDXXVIII.*

Underneath is the master's monogram. But famous as this mark was all over the world, it did not suffice to preserve his grave from desecration. The ordinary custom, which required that the burial-place of an extinct family should be cleared out and given up to the use of the Hospital, was adhered to in this instance without any reservation, the Frey family having died out with Dürer's wife Agnes and her sister Katharina, both of whom were childless. Up to the seventeenth century the Hospital buried six prebendaries, one after the other, in the vault. It was then bought by Joachim von Sandrart, who placed on it, in 1681, a very high-flown inscription in praise of Dürer, and bequeathed it to the Academy which he founded in Nuremberg. The Academy, in its turn, devoted it as a place of interment for foreign artists who possessed no tomb of their own in the cemetery. These facts are quite sufficient to prove that the skull which, with several others, was picked up in this vault in the year 1811, and is still preserved in Nuremberg as Dürer's, can have no title to that name.

More veneration was shown for another relic—namely, the lock of hair which, on the second day after his death, was cut from Dürer's head and given as a remembrance to his friend, the painter Hans Baldung Grien, at Strassburg. Upon the sheet of paper in which the hair was enclosed, the various owners who successively inherited it from Grien, have ever since continued to certify to the history of the

* "To the memory of Albert Dürer. All that was mortal of Albert Dürer is laid beneath this mound. He departed on April 6th 1528." See also vol. i. p. 139.

precious memorial; so that there is no doubt of the truth of the tradition. It is quite another question, however, whether this highly prized relic has been preserved *in natura* up to the present day, and whether it must not long ago have fallen a victim to time, and have been replaced by other hair. It is difficult to recognise in the fair child's lock, soft as silk, which is now preserved under a glass case, the hair of a sickly man of nearly fifty-seven years of age, cut from his head after death. This relic passed in 1873, with the rest of Herr S. Hüsgen's Dürer collection, into the possession of the Academy of Fine Arts at Vienna.*

The news of Dürer's death awoke a mournful echo far and wide, and the manner in which the foremost men of his time and country expressed themselves with regard to him on this occasion, shows fully the position he occupied in the world. Nuremberg was the most nearly affected by his loss. Helius Eobanus Hesse announced, in a letter to the preacher of Erfurt, Johannes Lang, that the death of the incomparable man had placed nearly the whole city in mourning. At the same time he sent him the poem which he had hurriedly composed for the funeral, and had published under the title "*Epicedium in funere Alberti Dureri.*" † Eoban sent another copy to Luther, who replied with this beautiful eulogy: "With regard to Dürer, it well becomes the pious to mourn for the best of men; but thou mayest esteem him happy, inasmuch as Christ having truly enlightened

* Thausing, *Hüsgens Dürersammlung und das Schicksal von Dürers sterblichen Ueberresten*, in the *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, 1874, p. 321 *et seq.*

† "Durerus nuper excessit e vita, homo incomparabilis ingenii, cujus causa tantum non tota haec civitas est in luctu. Nos illi scripsimus τὸ ἐπικήδιον, quod mittimus, sed valde tumultuarie, sic enim exigebatur. Celebraturi sumus hominis memoriam meliori aliquo elogio brevi, in quod et docti viri alii operas locabunt."—*Hel. Eob. Hessii poetae et amicorum ipsius epistolarum familiarium libri xii*, Marburg, 1543, p. 78.

him, took him away in good time from these stormy days, destined soon to become more stormy, so that he who was worthy to see nothing but what was best, might not be obliged to look upon the worst. May he rest in peace with his fathers! Amen." * The first tidings of Dürer's death reached Melanchthon from Frankfort. He would not believe the terrible news. When he received the confirmation of it from Nuremberg, he expressed his grief in these few concise words to Camerarius: "It grieves me to see Germany deprived of such an artist, and such a man." †

Erasmus, on the other hand, passed over the event very coolly. Only a short time previously he had written the public acknowledgment of Dürer's genius, which he had promised to make two years before in return for the engraved portrait of himself. This engagement he had been in no hurry to fulfil, though Pirkheimer never left off reminding him of it. His book on the right pronunciation of Latin and Greek, which appeared in March, 1528, contained the following passage:—"I have known Dürer's name for a long time as that of the first celebrity in the art of painting. Some call him the Apelles of our time. But I think that did Apelles live now, he, as an honourable man, would give the palm to Dürer. Apelles, it is true, made use of few and unobtrusive colours, but still he used colours; while Dürer, admirable as he is too in other respects, what can he not express with one single colour?—that is to say, with black

* "De Durero sane pium est optimo viro condolere: tuum vero est gratulari, ut quem Christus tam instructum et beato fine tulit ex his temporibus turbulentissimis, et forte adhuc turbulentioribus futuris, ne qui dignus fuit non nisi optima videre, cogeretur pessima videre. Quiescat igitur in pace cum suis patribus, Amen."—*Ibidem*, p. 268.

† *Epistolae ad Joach. Camerarium*, Leipzig, 1569, p. 93: "De Dureri morte fama citius huc e Francofordia, quam e Norimberga perlata est, sed ego nolebam tantam rem credere. Doleo tali et viro et artefice Germaniam orbatam esse."

lines? he can give the effect of light and shade, brightness, foreground and background. Moreover, he reproduces not merely the natural look of a thing, but also observes the laws of perfect symmetry and harmony with regard to the position of it. He can also transfer by enchantment, so to say, upon the canvas things which it seems not possible to represent, such as fire, sunbeams, storms, lightning, and mist; he can portray every passion, show us the whole soul of man shining through his outward form; nay, even make us hear his very speech. All this he brings so happily before the eye with those black lines, that the picture would lose by being clothed in colour. Is it not more worth admiration to achieve without the winning charm of colour what Apelles only realised with its assistance?"*

Whether Dürer ever saw this academic eulogy of himself by the celebrated scholar, is not known. His death following so soon upon it gave it the character of an epitaph, which it was by no means intended for. The news of Dürer's death made, in fact, very little impression on Erasmus. On the 26th of April he acknowledges to Pirkheimer the receipt of a letter which had given him great consolation, and yet this was doubtless the letter containing the gloomy tidings. He afterwards adds, "What is the use of lamenting over Dürer's death, since we are all mortal? There is a memorial to him in my little book." As if, forsooth, Dürer needed the assistance of the humanist of Rotterdam to render him immortal! Erasmus then immediately goes on to tell an anecdote which had very much amused the scholars at Basle.† The icy indifference which these words

* Erasmus, *De recte latini graecique sermonis pronuntiatione.* Ulrich Hegner, *H. Holbein*, p. 137. H. Grimm, pp. 142-3. At the same time, on the 29th of March, 1528, Erasmus wrote to H. Botteus: "Dürer took my portrait, but it is not the least like me."

† "Quid attinet Dureri mortem deplorare, quum simus mortales om-

disclose is the more remarkable from its marked contrast with Pirkheimer's manner of announcing Dürer's death. He was too deeply moved by the loss of his friend not to betray his grief even in writing to Erasmus, though the latter was certainly not the man to whom he would have poured out his heart. We have, however, another example of the way in which Pirkheimer knew how to give expression to his grief, in the beginning of a letter of his to a friend of the name of Ulrich, probably the statesman Ulrich Varenbüler, whose portrait Dürer had done as a token of his love and respect. It runs thus:

"Although to attain a great age, my dear Ulrich, is wont to be reckoned as one of the principal things that men wish for, yet one hardly can imagine anything more miserable than too long a life. I feel this more and more every day. For apart from the other toils and troubles of old age and the various kinds of disease, what can be more grievous for a man than to have continually to mourn, not only children and relations, whom death steals from him, but friends also, and among them those whom he loved best? And though I have often had to mourn the loss of relations, still I do not know that any death ever caused me such grief as fills me now at the sudden departure of our good and dear Albert Dürer. Nor is this without reason, for of all men not united to me by the ties of blood, I have never loved or esteemed any like him for his countless virtues and rare uprightness. And because I know, my dear Ulrich, that this blow has struck both you and me alike, I have not been afraid to give vent to my grief before you of all others, so that together we may pay the fitting tribute of tears to such a friend. He is gone, good Ulrich; our

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nes? Epitaphium illi paratum est in libello meo. Allatus est huc rumor, qui mire doctos exhilaruit," &c.—*Pirkheimeri Opera*, 281.

Albert is gone! Oh inexorable decree of fate, oh miserable lot of man, oh pitiless severity of death! Such a man, yea, such a man, is torn from us, while so many useless and worthless men enjoy lasting happiness and live only too long." *

Pirkheimer does not betray here by a single word any sign of the grievous accusation which, more than two years later, he hurled against Dürer's wife in the letter to Tscherte —namely, that her conduct had been the chief cause of Dürer's premature death, she having urged him on night and day to work and make money. We have already explained the origin of these assertions, and shown them to be untenable.† Dürer may, indeed, have worked unceasingly to the end of his life, so far, at least, as his bodily sufferings would allow him; but to do this he required no incitement from others. "For if there was anything in this man that at all resembled a fault, it was only his incessant diligence and the often unjust severity of his self-criticism." ‡

* "Sane etsi jam saepius dolorem, qui ex morte necessariorum suboriri solet, expertus fuerim, nescio tamen, an cujusquam obitus talem mihi unquam luctum attulerit, qualem nunc optimi et amicissimi nostri Alberti Dureri abitus repentinus concitat; nec injuria, quum neminem, omni humano genere, qui mihi sanguinis saltem vinculo junctus non esset, magis dilexerim, ac pluris ob innumeras ejus virtutes probitatemque singularem fecerim. Proinde, mi Udalrice, quum sciam, calamitatem hanc communem mihi tecum esse, potissimum apud te dolori meo habenas laxare ausus fui, quo pariter amico tanto justas persolveremus lacrimas. Obiit Albertus noster, Udalrice optime! proh fatorum ordo inexorabilis, proh misera conditio humana, proh dura inclementia mortis! Vir talis tantusque nobis ereptus est, quum interim tot inutiles ac nullius frugis homines fortuna (prospera) perpetua vitaque fruantur plus quam diuturna."—*Pirkheimeri Opera*, 399. This letter bears the address of Ulrich von Hutten, though he had been dead since 1524. Even Pirkheimer's rough copy, which was found among his papers, and which is now in the Public Library at Nuremberg, has this impossible address in an old handwriting. It contains certain unimportant corrections and variants, and also finishes with the word "diuturna."

† See vol. i. p. 156 *et seq.*

‡ "Erat autem si quid omnium in illo viro quod vitii simile videretur, unica infinita diligentia et in se

The context to this passage proves that Camerarius had in his mind the excessive overwork by which Dürer exhausted his strength. These labours, however, had been for a long time past devoted to theoretical studies only, and not to the execution of any works for sale.

Dürer had of his own accord given up the actual practice of art when death overtook him. The inquiry into the "principles of art" (*Grunde der Kunst*), that is, into everything worth knowing to the artist, which from his youth upwards had been in his mind, occupied him more and more. To these, as he believed, fundamental studies, he devoted during the last year of his life the means and the leisure which he had acquired by his art. He wished, as it would seem, henceforward to live only for the composition and printing of his writings, believing that in so doing he was fulfilling a last duty to his country and to posterity. That hidden knowledge which he attributed to antiquity, he desired to open afresh to German art, since on it were to rest the foundations of the future greatness of that art. In this he did but follow the natural bent of his mind. The scholar's nature showed itself in him more and more plainly, and filled him with ambition to satisfy his own and others' strivings after knowledge. He once said to Melanchthon, "An unlearned man is like an unpolished mirror."* Melanchthon had so high an opinion of Dürer's judgment, that he preserved his remarks very carefully, and was very fond of quoting them in corroboration of his own. He also sought Dürer's help in explaining a difficult passage of Suetonius on a statue of Augustus.† Dürer had long before declared in his

quoque inquisitrix saepe parum aequa."—Camerarius, Preface to the Latin translation of the *Proportionslehre*, 1532.

* "Simile dixit Durerus: Homo indoctus est quasi impolitum speculum."—Manlius, *Loc. com. coll.* ii. 67.

† Melanchthon to Camerarius, the 7th Sept. 1526: "Scis nos antea in eodem Suetonii loco haesisse, nec potuisse statuere de eo. Nunc videtur satis planus. Itaque non necesse

forcible language that the thirst for knowledge was the only insatiable desire of man: "All the eager and active powers of the mind, however useful and agreeable the objects to which they may be devoted, can be satisfied, and even at last satiated, by a daily and too frequent use; but the thirst for knowledge, which is implanted in every one by nature, cannot be quenched, nor does it ever cloy." *

For Dürer did not wait to begin his theoretical studies till the latter years of his life; they date from the commencement of his career as an artist. We have seen, for example, that his first essays in the theory of proportion go back to the year 1500.† But when he resolved to appear as an author, when he began first to write down the results he had arrived at, what sources he had recourse to, and what place is to be assigned him in the special domain of science, on all these points our information is very incomplete. The rich materials which the master has left behind him in his three printed books, and in numerous manuscripts, still need to be thoroughly examined and appraised. The first who made this aspect of Dürer's career an object of serious study was Albert von Zahn,‡ but an early death unhappily prevented him from prosecuting his task to its conclusion. We must therefore be content meanwhile with what he has brought to light. To go further, and to attempt to arrive at satisfactory results with regard to the importance of Dürer as a writer and scholar, would hardly come within the province of a history of art. Besides, the needful preparatory work is still wanting, the first foundation of which must be

est, Durero negotium facere, eique si quam nobis operam navavit in hac re, magnas agito gratias et dicito, me παλινωδῆσαι, et correxisse sententiam imprudenter, nec ante re expensa scriptam."—*Melanchthon Epp.*, Lond. 1642, iv. 41.

* *Jahr. für Kunstw.* i. 10.

† See vol. i. p. 291.

‡ *Dürers Kunstlehre und sein Verhältniss zur Renaissance*, Leipzig, 1866; *Die Dürer-Handschriften des Britischen Museums*, in the *Jahrb. für Kunstw.* i. 1–22.

a critical edition of Dürer's collective scientific writings. I have therefore renounced from the beginning all idea of treating the theoretical productions of the master with the same exhaustiveness as his works of art. It was never my intention to write a book within a book. For a long time, too, the study of this vast subject was pursued by the best hands to which it could have been entrusted, and I hoped to share with Albert von Zahn in its further prosecution. For it is perhaps beyond the powers and the sphere of knowledge of a single individual to follow all the traces of so active and many-sided a mind as Dürer's. The history of art meets here with the same formidable difficulties that beset it in the case of Leonardo da Vinci.

Under these circumstances, I have thought it advisable to abstain from examining Dürer's theoretical works in detail, and to content myself here at the end of his history with a brief account of all that is known, and considered worth knowing, about them at the present time. The picture we have drawn of the process of Dürer's artistic development has in no way suffered by the absence from it of his work as an author, for the master's art creations are far from being in harmony with his theoretical conclusions and precepts; and still less do they appear to have been influenced by them. The theory and science of art do not, as a rule, precede its practice, and in Dürer's case they are not so much the motive-power as the consequence of his creative energy. For art is a spontaneous production, and never the result of mere teaching. We must not therefore be surprised if the bold injunctions and subtle expositions contained in Dürer's writings are not at all observed in the works of art or the designs done by him at the same time. Released from all outward influences, and giving free play to its fancy, the imagination often takes a peculiar flight.

On the other hand, it is not to be denied that in proportion as art ceases to be naïve and simple, as it ceases to be the result of a sentimental imitation, and becomes the object of independent study by proficient and thoughtful masters, the need is felt of theoretical teaching, and there is a tendency to over-estimate the value of such teaching. The immense success and prodigious circulation of Dürer's printed writings show how these ideas were in accordance with the spirit of the times. The first book which he published was the 'Art of Measurement,' or, as the author himself styled it, 'Instruction in the Measurement with the Compass and Rule of Lines, Surfaces, and solid Bodies, drawn up by Albert Dürer, and printed, for the use of all lovers of art, with appropriate diagrams, in 1525.' (*Unterweisung der Messung mit dem Zirkel und Richtscheit in Linien, Ebenen und ganzen Körpern durch Albrecht Dürer zusammengezogen und zu Nutz allen Kunstliebhabenden mit zugehörigen Figuren in Druck gebracht im Jahr* 1525.) It contains a course of applied geometry in connection with Euclid's Elements. Dürer states from the very commencement that his book will be of no use to any one who understands the geometry of the "very acute" Euclid, for it has been written only for the young, and for those who have had no one to instruct them accurately. He expresses his intentions still more plainly in the dedication to Pirkheimer prefixed to the work: "Gracious sir and friend! It has been the custom hitherto in our German country to teach many gifted youths the art of painting, merely however by daily practice, and without instructing them in any principles. Thus they have grown up in ignorance like a wild, unpruned tree; though some of them, by constant exercise, have attained a certain freedom of hand, which has enabled them to produce works powerful indeed, but showing no thought, and done entirely according to their own good pleasure." Dürer wished to

give the necessary instructions to all who practised art, not only to painters, but also to goldsmiths, sculptors, stonemasons, joiners, and all whose calling required exact measurements. This book is therefore expressly composed with reference to the arts of design. In it is taught the theory of projection as applied to orthometrical and perspective drawing, as well as the theory of geometrical construction applied to ornamental forms, architecture, writing, and the determination of relative proportions. Thus it corresponds altogether both in its contents and in its general arrangement with the *Divina Proporzione* of Luca Pacioli, from whom Dürer probably received some information when in Italy in the year 1506.*

Like all Dürer's technical writings, the book is profusely illustrated with woodcuts. In this he was merely carrying out his precept that "it is easier to believe what you see than what you hear; but if you both see and hear, then you can understand more readily and retain more lastingly; I wish, therefore, so to arrange my work that everything may be understood as easily as possible."† In 1538 a second edition of the 'Instruction in Measurement' appeared at Nuremberg, printed by Hieronymus Formschneider with some corrections, and increased by a set of woodcuts found among Dürer's effects. While the first edition only contains towards the end two compositions, one representing an artist drawing a man sitting,‡ and the other an artist sketching a lute;§ the second has, in addition, a man drawing on a sheet of glass, with Jacob Keser's instrument, to which a line is attached, the outlines of a vase,‖ and

* See vol. i. p. 361, and above, p. 42.

† Zahn, *Dürer-Handsch.* in the *Jahrb. für Kunstwissensch.* i. 5.

‡ Bartsch, 146.

§ Bartsch, 147. A slight first sketch for this woodcut belonged to the Suermondt collection, and is now in the Berlin Museum.

‖ Bartsch, 148.

another man who, by the aid of a sort of trellis-work of crossed lines, is sketching on a sheet of paper the figure of a woman lying down and very much foreshortened.* In 1604 the first edition was pirated at Arnheim, word for word, not even the notices of the misprints being omitted. A Latin translation appeared under the title "*Institutionum geometricarum libri quatuor*," at Paris, in two editions, in 1532 and 1535, and was afterwards republished at Nuremberg in 1538, and at Arnheim in 1605.

Some difficulties appear to have arisen in consequence of the publication of the Latin translation at Paris in 1532, for when it was offered for sale in Nuremberg and at other places within German territory, Dürer's widow considered herself injured with regard to the copyright which had been secured to her by an imperial grant of the 14th of August, 1528. She appealed, therefore, to the Council, who, on the 1st of October, 1532, summoned all the booksellers of the town, and warned them seriously against the sale of the work. The Council also resolved the same day to send letters to all the towns where the same thing had occurred, such as Strasburg, Frankfort, Leipzig, and Antwerp, begging them to take similar measures for the protection of Dürer's writings.† In such cases as this the Council of Nuremberg was unwearied in protecting the rights of its citizens. Only a short time before, on the 4th of May in the same year, Dürer's widow had obtained a similar prohibition with respect to 'Maximilian's Triumphal Car,' which the wood engraver, Hans Guldenmund, had done a copy of. But it is significant of the mild character of the municipal government

* Bartsch, 149.

† Baader, *Beiträge*, i. 11 and 93. In the letters sent on the following day, it is stated that Dürer's widow had complained that in spite of the imperial grant, "some interested persons had translated some of her husband's books into Latin, had had them printed in France, and placed them for sale with the booksellers everywhere," &c.

that while recognising the complainant's right, they advised her at the same time to buy the new block of Guldenmund for 10 florins, promising to make good to her the half of that sum. It is probably in consequence of this that Guldenmund's copy has become so rare.

It is no part of our task to judge of the scientific value of Dürer's acquaintance with mathematics, geometry, and perspective. We are more concerned with inquiring into his application of them to art. He was still to a certain extent under the influence of the late Gothic style, which at that time predominated almost exclusively in the various artistic crafts at Nuremberg, particularly in goldsmith's work. It is easy to understand that Dürer, himself a goldsmith's apprentice, held in high esteem the mysteries of the ancient crafts. He often says in his Treatise "that the skilful stonemasons can make pretty, rare, and wonderful things." Following the rules laid down for "German stonemasonry," he constructs not only Gothic but also antique forms, using the geometrical spiral for a "*Horneiffen*," that is, the volute of a capital, and for the foliated boss or crook of a bishop's staff, and the parabolic curve for the roof of a tower and for the leaves of a Corinthian capital. In the same way, by a combination of the intersecting lines resulting from the geometrical pattern of interlacing polygons, he constructs pillars of the late Gothic style as well as antique columns; and he places side by side, to choose from, a row of "projecting mouldings, such as are placed at the bottom of pillars," some of which belong to one, and some to the other of these two styles. Beside these again are represented a number of curious patterns formed by the intersecting lines of circles, and an ingenious reticulated vaulting for those "who particularly delight in strange devices for the purpose of modifying a vaulted roof in a decorative manner." Finally, Dürer constructed with

compass and rule the letters of the antique as well as of the Gothic alphabet; doing the beautiful large capitals of the former with especial care, but of the latter only a poor set of small letters. This part of his Treatise has often been used by calligraphers, as, for instance, in the works of Juan de Yciar, which appeared at Saragossa in 1529, and in 1553 by Wolfgang Fugger, a writing-master at Nuremberg, whose letter-types were republished at Augsburg in 1600.*

It is very evident that Dürer recognised no opposition in principle between Gothic and Renaissance art, and this is a fact well worthy of remark in a master who lived in the midst of the period of rapid transition from one to the other. The old as well as the new style had for him convincing claims, and he thought to unite and combine the two without doing violence to either. This middle course had very important results, for it was adopted generally by the German Renaissance, and, combined with another peculiarity which Dürer carried to its utmost limits, namely, absolute freedom for individual caprice, formed the groundwork and characteristic feature of that art. Dürer did not consider architectural forms as something historical, resulting from the efforts of an entire people, but as the invention of certain gifted masters. Among these, the most eminent and the most worthy of imitation seemed to him to be Vitruvius. But this admiration was not in any way to interfere with the modern architect's individual ideas. Dürer, indeed, expressly encourages him to form them, and gives examples. "Every one," he says, "should make an effort to find something fresh, something new; for in the various parts we have to deal with, not one thing only is good, but many things, if we know how to choose them. We must,

* See above, p. 41 *et seq.*; and Heller, Part III. p. 988.

therefore, seek after them, as the famous Vitruvius and others sought and found good things; for it must not be supposed that there is nothing more to be accomplished, especially in a department in which it cannot be proved that perfection has been reached." These words accompany a circumstantial description of a very intricate design for a column which Dürer gives as a specimen; and he continues: "But if any one would speak of an architectural work as a whole, or of its parts, it cannot, I think, be unknown to any famous architect or workman in what an accomplished and masterly way the old Roman Vitruvius has written in his books upon the solidity, serviceableness, and beauty of buildings; for which reason he is to be imitated more than any others, and his teaching to be followed. At present I propose to draw one or two columns for the purpose of instructing young men how to do them. But I have my doubts about the German character of mind, for generally those who wish to construct something new, want to do it in a fashion (*Fatzon*) which has never been seen before."

Dürer could not have more exactly pointed out the chief fault of modern German architecture. What he says explains at once that medley of different styles which soon showed itself in the German Renaissance. While the Italian by a sort of instinctive divination re-echoes the taste of the day, and the Frenchman carefully avoids what is new and startling, the German, following the bent of his natural inclinations, eagerly seeks exemption from fixed rules, and strives to give shape to his own individual way of thought. This endeavour to be original hinders regular development, and leads not only to exuberant production, but to a medley of rapidly changing styles. Any architect, furnished with a knowledge of archæology and acquainted with the history of his art, may, by taking as a standpoint some period most in accordance with his own

ideas, readily satisfy the desire to be original. In default of this Dürer had recourse to every possible object in nature, and to all kinds of fantastic conceits. Wonderful, indeed, are the three designs for trophies and monuments which he recommends, and in which he piles up, according to whatever they may be intended to commemorate, arms, utensils of every sort and kind, and figures. For instance, the column to be erected in celebration of a victory, has for its shaft an overturned mortar and a large cannon. A sketch for this column, slightly different from the one in the book, is in the Heller Collection in the Royal Library at Bamberg; it is accompanied by an explanation in Dürer's own hand, but the date, 1513, is not genuine. The next monument for which he gives a design is to commemorate a victory over revolted peasants. It is composed entirely of rustic vessels and implements; at the top, seated on a butter-tub, beneath which is a hen-coop, is the figure of a peasant in a despairing attitude and transfixed by a sword. The group of cattle at the foot is admirably conceived; the sheep, the pigs, and especially the two oxen, which are very skilfully foreshortened and much more true to nature than any previous representations of the kind, are all excellent. There is a pen-sketch for this composition in the British Museum. Lastly, he gives the following malicious directions to some one who wished to place a monument over the grave of a drunkard: "First make a sort of sarcophagus with an epitaph on it, in mock praise of sensuality; on the sarcophagus place an upright beer-barrel, and cover it at the top with a draught-board; then put two dishes, one over the other, filled with eatables; and above these again, a wide low beer-jug with two handles; cover this with a plate, and on the plate stand a long beer-glass turned upside down; and, finally, crown the erection with a basket of bread, butter, and cheese."

Too good a joke indeed to be taken seriously! It would

be a mistake to suppose that Dürer ever received and executed an order of this kind. Such things are mere products of a dry wit and humour, and have but little in common with the spontaneous creations of art. At the same time, it must not be supposed that he refused in his later years to employ his imagination and fancy on ornamental work of a similar nature. The accompanying reproduction of a drawing in the Ambras Collection at Vienna, representing a fountain with snakes for water-spouts, done in the year 1527, is sufficient to refute any such idea. At the top of the fountain is the small standing figure of a soldier, with a flag in his hand. It will be allowed that the design leaves nothing to be desired either on the score of simplicity or of taste.

In the same year Dürer appeared as an expert in a particular branch of architecture, which had for its object general utility rather than decorative effect, namely, military architecture. In the month of October, 1527, he published his Treatise on the fortification of towns, castles, and places (*Unterricht zur Befestigung der Städte, Schlösser und Flecken*). This beautifully illustrated book is dedicated to King Ferdinand I. of Hungary and Bohemia, whom Dürer feels himself bound to serve "by reason of the favours and benefits which he had received from his late grandfather, the Emperor Maximilian. As it now happens that your Majesty has commanded certain towns and places to be fortified, I feel myself bound to set forth what little I know on this subject," &c. Dürer especially directed his attention to the means to be employed "to defend those countries which are so exposed to the power and the artillery of the Turks." This was two years before Sultan Suleiman had marched against Vienna, and Luther had published his 'Appeal to arms against the Turks' (*Heerpredigt wider den Türken*). So keen-sighted was Dürer's love for his country. The work, which contains an introduction on the mode of building

DESIGN FOR A FOUNTAIN.

(From the Pen Drawing in the Ambras Collection at Vienna.)

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forts, is divided into six parts. Each of the first three treats of a different way of building a fort, the fourth deals with the fortification of a castle, the fifth with the mode of defending a mountain-pass by means of a fort (*Clause*), and the sixth with the best way of securing the safety of a town surrounded by walls. As an appendix to the last part, Dürer gives a plan for mounting pieces of ordnance. The work is illustrated with admirable large woodcuts, and on the title-page are the arms of King Ferdinand. Such ornamentation as the nature of these designs for fortifications lend themselves to, is in the Renaissance style. It might be interesting to study from this point of view Dürer's relations with his Italian predecessors.

His labours in this branch of art met with no acknowledgment from his contemporaries, and were hardly indeed ever put to any practical purpose. Here and there only, and very gradually, was any use made of them. The people of Strasburg, for instance, built the fort at the Kronenburg Gate and the Roseneck bastion, in accordance with Dürer's method. Of these the former, with slight alterations, has lasted to the present time, while the other was altered in 1577 by the town architect, Daniel Speckle, or Specklin.* This famous architect and military engineer very considerably developed Dürer's ideas, the tradition of which has been handed down from generation to generation, and has more or less inspired all German engineers. But it is only in the present day that Dürer has won recognition as the founder of a special kind of military architecture.† This art of fortifi-

* Wendelstädt, *Ursachen, welche für Deutschland den Verlust von Strassburg zur Folge hatten*, in the *Jahrbücher für die deutsche Armee*, iv. 194. The round towers of the city walls at Nuremberg are not Dürer's, as tradition affirms; they were built after his death by Italians.

† Baron C. von der Goltz, *Albrecht Dürers Einfluss auf die Entwickelung der deutschen Befestigungskunst*, in H. Grimm's work, *Ueber Künstler und Kunstw.* ii. 189–203. G. von Imhof, *Alb. Dürer in seiner*

cation, after having remained for centuries in Germany behind that of Italy and France, has ended by surpassing it in the so-called New Prussian System. If this system, as is pretended, be founded on the principles laid down by Dürer, the master must certainly have been far in advance of his time. A Latin translation of his book by Camerarius, appeared at Paris in 1535, and the original was republished at Arnheim in 1603. A new edition, with historical and technical explanations, was brought out in Berlin in 1823; and an *édition de luxe*, translated into French, in Paris in 1870.*

Contemporary with this book, and as a result of the same studies, appeared the great woodcut, 'The Siege of a Fortified Town,' which also bears the date 1527.† It consists of two oblong sheets, intended to be placed side by side, and is a real masterpiece of the art of wood engraving as regards delicacy of execution. On the left is an enormous semicircular bulwark, against which the hosts of the besiegers are seen advancing across a wide plain. All three branches of arms are represented, but the common foot-soldiers (*Landsknechte*), marching in squares with long spears, are the most noticeable. In front, on the borders of the trenches, a few companies are already in close combat with the besieged, who have made a sortie; while on the right, in the rear, is seen the baggage with provisions and herds of cattle; in the background are villages in flames, and the gallows and a wheel mark the place of execution. The rich composition which Dürer here unfolds before our eyes should always be included in our study of his principles of fortification, for apart from its value as a work of art, it serves to a certain extent to illustrate the practical working of his theory. It

Bedeutung für die moderne Befestigungskunst, Nördlingen, 1871. See too M. Allihn in the *Grenzboten* 1872, No. 17, p. 143.

* *Albert Dürer, Instruction sur la fortification, traduit par A. Ratheau.* Heller, pp. 994–96.

† Bartsch, 137.

is the same impression which in old catalogues is called 'Dürer's Vienna;' the scene having been supposed to represent the siege of Vienna by the Turks, though that event did not take place till 1529, two years after the completion of the woodcut. We have already shown its merely imaginary connection with Dürer's Treatise on Fortification. In the Ambrosiana at Milan is a pen-drawing which belongs to this subject, and deserves attention. It depicts a round tower situated between overhanging rocks and the seashore, and is a view of one of those forts for defending mountain passes, which Dürer describes in his book, and which have gained for him his reputation as the inventor of a system of fortification.

Dürer also passes for being the author of one of the first German manuals on fencing and wrestling. This book only exists in manuscript, and is entitled "Ὁπλοδιδασκαλία *siue armorum tractandorum meditatio Alberti Dureri, Anno* 1512." One copy of it is at Breslau, in the library of the Church of St. Magdalen, and another, more perfect, in the Fideicommiss Library at Vienna.* Camerarius indeed asserts that he wrote on gymnastics,† and it is true that among the Dürer manuscripts in London there are to be found, twice over, representations of two pair of fencers, with inscriptions in the artist's own handwriting above them. Underneath the title can be read: "Item, the four following pieces represent the four ways of taking guard, as a master of the art would do it, and the four corresponding thrusts or

* K. Waffmannsdorf, *Die Ringkunst des deutschen Mittelalters mit* 119 *Ringerpaaren von Albrecht Dürer aus den deutschen Fechthandschriften zum ersten Male herausgegeben*, Leipzig, 1870, p. iv.; and *Das erste deutsche Turnbuch mit Zusätzen aus deutschen Fechthandschriften und* 17 *Zeichnungen von A. Dürer*, Heidelberg, 1871, by the same author. See too Busching, *A. Dürer's Fecht und Ringer-Buch* (the Breslau MS.) in the *Kunstblatt*, 1824, p. 139.

† See above, p. 97.

cuts." By a singular coincidence, just above these fencers is the date 1512, and the monogram.* At the same time it is questionable whether anything more of Dürer's book on fencing exists than this fragment in London. The positions of the combatants depicted there do not appear either in the Breslau or Vienna manuscripts. The latter, indeed, contains nothing in Dürer's own hand, and the same may be said of the Breslau manuscript, which agrees in the main with the Vienna one. It is still, however, a matter for inquiry whether these manuscripts, which are not in his handwriting, and the drawings accompanying them, should be regarded as copies of an original work by him or as mere adaptations of it.

But the writing on which Dürer spent the greatest labour, and to which he devoted throughout his life the most profound thought, is his 'Treatise on Proportion' (*Proportionslehre*). The full title of the book runs thus: 'Herein are comprised four books on human proportion, composed and printed by Albert Dürer, of Nuremberg, for the use of all those who love this art. MDXXVIII.' Dürer did not live to see the whole of his work published. Only the first of the four books had been printed when he died.† The other three were edited by his friends, and the whole appeared on the last day of October, 1528, published by his widow, and printed by Hieronymus Andreæ. Dürer follows two different systems in the measurement of the human body: in the first book he takes as his standard a fraction of its entire length; in the second, his scale is composed of six hundred parts, like that of Leon Battista Alberti, a proof that he had some

* *Jahrb. für Kunstw.* i. 20.

† When he speaks in an earlier note of the second book as ready for printing (Zahn, *Jahrb. für Kunstw.* i. 7), it involves no contradiction of the editors' statement, as Dürer probably repeatedly considered his work finished, and then began it over again.

acquaintance with the, at that time, unpublished writings of the Florentine. He next changes the measurements founded on experience, and establishes certain abstract relations by means of a proportional increase and diminution, until he arrives at figures too slim and too stout, such as Nature never offers types of. At the same time he is far from desirous of laying down rules applicable to all cases, or of even proposing a definite canon for the relative proportions of the human body.*

In the third book the various proportions of the figures given in the first two are changed according to definite rules, the scale being increased and diminished in all kinds of different ways, but always with a certain consistency. These changes of form are regulated by a series of categories grouped in pairs, such as the large and the small bodies, the young and the old, the fat and the thin, &c.; and Dürer calls them "the distinctive terms, which render an object pretty or ugly." With a view to assist the sometimes proportional, sometimes arbitrary, lengthening and shortening, he designed several figures, to which he gives special names, and which, according to his idea, were to serve, in part at least, as aids to the designer. The strange proportions which resulted from this method caused Dürer himself to warn others against their misuse; but at the same time he still regards these figures as calculated to be of service to artists, though no direct use can be made of them. The fourth book indicates "where and how the figures described are to bend." It is, in point of fact, an application of the science of geometrical projection to the drawing of the human body expressed by lines and plane surfaces, and represented under

* It is therefore quite preposterous to look for one, as J. J. Trost has endeavoured to do, in his *Die Proportionslehre Dürers nach ihren wesentlichen Bestimmungen*, Vienna, 1859.

different aspects and in different positions. Here again we meet with the seven "distinctive terms," denoted by the words "bent, twisted, turned," &c., and which are explained by geometrical diagrams. It is remarkable that all the figures, even those in attitudes expressive of movement, are constructed according to abstract rules, and almost without any regard to the inner organism; only the articulations of the joints were paid any heed to by Dürer, and these were always accurately rendered. He declares, indeed, in his preface, that he intends to write nothing about the inward parts of the body, and at the beginning of the fourth book he says: "But how to describe the limbs, and how wonderfully they fit into each other, is known to those who occupy themselves with anatomy, and I leave it to them to speak of these things." He himself is content with briefly pointing out the limits within which the body can be bent, and how the joints become enlarged when they are stretched and in action.

Considering the nature of its contents, the success of Dürer's *Proportionslehre* may well surprise us now, though it shows what was thought of the book in the then existing state of scientific knowledge. The first two books of the Latin translation, edited by Camerarius, and printed by Hieronymus for Dürer's widow, appeared in 1532, and the two remaining ones in 1534. This translation was republished in 1537, at Paris, by Christian Wechel, and again in 1557 by Charles Périer. Afterwards, G. P. Galucci made his Italian translation, which was printed twice at Venice, in 1591 and in 1594, and was followed by a Spanish translation by Luiz da Costa, and, it is said, by one in Portuguese, which however was never printed. It may be mentioned here as a curious fact, that Francisco Pacheco, the painter of the Spanish Inquisition, and master of the great Velasquez, in his book upon painting, recommends that the female figure

should be studied from Dürer's drawings, instead of from the living models.* A French translation of the Treatise, done from the Latin edition by L. Meigret, appeared at Paris in 1557, and at Arnheim in 1614; in 1603, the original German edition was reprinted at the latter place. The last time the book was translated was into Dutch, in 1622 and 1662.

The Treatise on Proportion is not merely the most voluminous of Dürer's printed books, but there exists also a great deal of manuscript, as well as innumerable drawings, all done in preparation for it. Dürer considered this subject the most important part of his theoretical studies. "Above all things," he says, "we like to look upon a beautiful human figure; therefore I shall first occupy myself with its proportions; and afterwards, if God gives me time, I shall take up other subjects. I well know that the envious will not keep their venom to themselves, but that shall not hinder me; for great men have had to suffer such things before now." † Yet this work and his other printed books contain only a part of what he had undertaken or intended to write. As to what these projects were, more exact information can be gathered from the manuscripts which have been preserved in various collections, than from the panegyrics of learned friends, who were naturally inclined to exaggeration. Without taking into account separate scattered sheets, there are whole folio volumes in Dürer's handwriting—one at Nuremberg in the Public Library,‡ one in the Royal Library at Dresden,§ and four in the Library of the British Museum.‖ These last come from the same source as the

* *El arte de la Pintura*, Sevilla, 1649, p. 272; Waagen, *Jahrb. für Kunstw.* ii. 19.

† *Jahrbücher für Kunstwissenschaft*, i. 7.

‡ Becker, *Archiv für zeichn. Künste*, 1858; p. 20 *et seq.*

§ Zahn, *Die Dresdener Dürer-Handschrift* in the *Jahrb. für Kunstw.* iv. 202–4. Heller, p. 998.

‖ Zahn, *Jahrb. für Kunstw.* i. 1–22.

volume of drawings in that collection, and may be considered to afford the fullest information with respect to Dürer's intentions as an author.

Judging from them, he for a long time cherished the idea of a great encyclopædic work which was to comprise everything worth knowing by the artist, and of which the Treatises on Measurements and Proportion were to be only separate fragments. The whole work was to bear the title, 'Food for Young Painters' (*Eine Speise der Malerknaben*). The outline of a long preface to it contains a series of able reflections on art and artistic work, written for the most part in 1512 and 1513, though some belong to an earlier date, and all have been constantly altered and rearranged. The train of thought is identical with that which occurs under a different form, and with a different context, in an altogether irrelevant digression at the end of the third book of the Treatise on Proportion. This digression was, no doubt, inserted by the publishers on their own authority, in order to give posterity the benefit of its ingenious contents; a well-meaning though somewhat arbitrary proceeding, to which, however, we are indebted for enabling us to judge of the last form given by Dürer to these theoretical dissertations.

The programme of the whole work is, no doubt, of an earlier date than the first draft of the preface. Dürer begins thus: "By God's help and favour, I here place at the service of all young persons who wish to learn, everything that my practice in the art of painting has taught me would be useful," &c. After drawing attention to the fact that "the world is often two or three centuries without a great artist of real genius," he proceeds to divide his subject into three parts, each of which is subdivided again into six sections, and he goes on to enumerate the different points of his programme according to these divisions and subdivisions.

This is the way at least in which a portion of it is arranged. The first point refers to the choice of an apprentice who is to become a painter, &c. A separate section is devoted to demonstrating "that a very great artist ought to charge high prices for his works, and that no money is too much to pay for them." A hasty sketch of the project, of very early date, contains merely the following brief indications:

"Of the proportion of men,
Of the proportion of horses,
Of the proportion of buildings,
Of perspective,
Of light and shade,
Of colours, how to imitate those of Nature."

These are, no doubt, the subjects which Dürer wished to treat of in his books, and which he has actually dealt with to a certain extent in the works on measurement and perspective. There are also among his papers a few scattered notices on the proportions of buildings—that is, on architecture. What remained would have principally contributed to fill the two books which he still meant to write, namely, one on painting and the other on the proportion of horses. He mentions the former expressly in a letter to Pirkheimer, who assisted him in the editing and printing of his books. With reference to the insertion of a preface to the Treatise on Proportion, Dürer writes to him: "As my little books are to teach nothing but Proportion, I should like what I have to say about painting to be kept for the small work in which I mean to treat of that subject." * An early fragment on the theory of colouring has been preserved in one of the volumes of manuscript in London; it was, no doubt, destined for this book on painting.† In it Dürer speaks of modelling by means of light and shade. He eagerly advo-

* *Dürers Briefe*, 62. Heller, p. 999.

† *Jahrbücher für Kunstwissenschaft*, i. 18, 19.

cates the retention of local colours, particularly in draperies, and warns his readers against the laying on of too dark shadows and over-bright lights. Speaking of the shading —"*Schättigen*," he calls it—of a white mantle, such as that in which he afterwards enveloped his St. Paul, he says: "When you shade in a white mantle, you must not use such dark colours as you would for a red one, because a white object cannot produce such opaque shadows as a red;" and so on. Also the gradations of tone must all be in the same class of colours, and not done with the help of another colour, unless it is a shot-silk that has to be painted. The short fragment closes with some advice as to what should be done in this latter case. Whether Dürer wrote anything else in view of this little book, and which of the notes we possess properly belong to its pages, is a matter which as yet it has not been possible to decide.

We have already, in speaking of his preparatory studies for the engraving of "The Knight, Death, and the Devil," * established the fact that he occupied himself with researches into the proportions of the horse. But there is nothing in his writings to show that he ever put on record the result of these investigations. Camerarius, indeed, informs us in the preface to the Latin edition of the Treatise on Proportion, published in 1532, that it was not unknown to him that Dürer had made deep and accurate researches in this branch of art, and had established some measurements; but, through the treachery of certain people, he had lost what had been done, and then had not cared to begin over again. Dürer knew perfectly well who the thieves were, but, yielding to his natural gentleness and love of peace, he had refused to prosecute them, and had consoled himself for the loss. Camerarius relates the unfortunate story because

* See vol. i. pp 363-4, and above, pp. 227-8.

certain persons announced the appearance of a work by Dürer on the proportions of the horse's body, and he expresses his wonder as to whence the materials which the master never completed in his lifetime are to be obtained now that he is dead. He protests, therefore, against anything that was about to be published being set down to Dürer; and adds further that, some years before, a pamphlet upon the same subject had appeared in the German language containing erroneous and nonsensical directions, but he would not waste any words in criticism, though, unless he were mistaken, the author had never expressed his regret for having published it.

There is no question as to the identity of the suspected persons. They were the painter Hans Sebald Beham, who had only just returned from exile, and the wood engraver, Hieronymus Andreæ; at least the latter was supposed to be an accomplice. Directly after Dürer's death some evil reports began to circulate about them both. Hieronymus, who was entrusted with the printing of Dürer's Treatise on Proportion, appears to have abused the trust reposed in him to the injury of the widow. When it was reported that he was about, in conjunction with Beham, to publish a book on Proportion, the Council on the 22nd of July, 1528, forbade them both under pain of severe penalties to goods and person "to let the book on Proportion, that was entirely taken from Albert Dürer's writings and works, appear in print, until the original book that Dürer himself had prepared before his death, and which was being printed, should be published and brought to light." It was thought to be purely and simply a case of literary larceny, whereas it was probably nothing but a concurrent undertaking on their part. In vain did Hans Sebald Beham appeal against the Council's decree; it was confirmed on the 26th of August, and the said Beham "forbidden to print any portion of this book till Dürer's

was printed and published."* The Council, however, modified its previous opinion as to there having been any direct plagiarism. Beham submitted obediently to the decree, and contented himself with publishing in the year 1528 his little book on the 'Proportions of the Horse,' in which he very plainly deprecates the charges made against him. He suppressed, meanwhile, all he had meant to say about the proportions of the human body, and what he afterwards published at Frankfort in 1546 in his Manual on Art (*Kunst- und Lehrbüchlein*) differs very decidedly from Dürer's opinions. The same may be said of his treatise on the horse. If we may form a correct judgment of Dürer's measurements from the proportions of the horse in 'The Knight, Death, and the Devil,' the heavy German cart-horse that Beham depicts is a great contrast to Dürer's pattern steed. It would almost seem as though Dürer's heirs and his learned friends had been over-zealous in guarding his intellectual property, and in too great a hurry to suspect his pupils. The Council of Nuremberg, however, had had too much experience of Beham and Hieronymus not to mistrust the two troublesome artists.

All these circumstances must lead us to the conclusion that Dürer, notwithstanding the time he had spent in thinking over the two subjects, had actually put into writing but a small part of what he intended to publish about painting and about the proportions of horses. This is much to be regretted, especially as regards the first work, for a thorough description of his technique and method of painting would have been perhaps of greater importance to us than all his other writings. These at the present time are only of interest for what they contain with reference to the master's own works. For

* M. M. Mayer, *A. Dürer*, p. 10. Baader, *Beiträge*, i. 10. A. Rosenberg, *Sebald and Barthel Beham*, p. 13 *et seq.*, and p. 138.

Dürer, as an artist, is an eminently historical personage, and everything that relates directly to him and his art cannot grow old. There are not wanting here and there in his writings remarks on art and its mission, so profound and full of thought and genius, that they will never cease to delight the world. But it would be a mistake to suppose that they embrace a whole system of art-philosophy, or that they contain materials out of which any such system might be constructed. They have nothing in common with æsthetics in the scientific sense of the word, nor are they the results of theoretical reflection; the painter, rather than the theorist, predominates throughout. They are, in fact, isolated flashes of genius, doubly valuable, because emanating from the soul of an artist accustomed to meditation. But though they sparkle brilliantly, they are not intended to shed light on the path of the patient investigator.

The introduction to that great work, so long planned by Dürer, which was intended to furnish instruction for young painters, is particularly rich in such remarks.* He repeatedly altered this preface, and according to the frame of mind in which he was, and his way of looking at a thing at the moment, gave expression to his thoughts on art in relation to the antique and to nature, on the fluctuating character of his ideas of the beautiful and of its harmony with the good, the true, and the practical, on the practice of art and the knowledge required for it, as well as on the mission which he believed himself to have as an artist.

Dürer always takes as his starting-point his veneration for

* This preface, culled from the London MSS., has been published by Zahn in the *Jahrbücher für Kunstwissenschaft*, i. 4–10, and printed by the publishers of the Treatise on Proportion at the end of the third book. A fragment of the same preface, in the Nuremberg Codex, has been reproduced in facsimile by Ghillany in his *Index rarissimorum aliquot librorum*, Nuremberg, 1846, and published by Becker in the *Archiv für zeichnende Künste*, iv. 1858, pp. 24, 25.

the art and wisdom of classical antiquity, his regret at their decay, and his esteem for the fresh efforts of the Italians. In the dedication of his work on Mensuration to Pirkheimer, he says: "Old books indicate sufficiently in what honour and veneration this art was held by the Greeks and Romans, although afterwards it was entirely lost and remained hidden for more than a thousand years, and was only brought to light again by the Italians two centuries ago;" or, as he says in the Treatise on Proportion, "a century and a half ago." Dürer therefore evidently ascribes the reflorescence of art to the period of the Renaissance. He is particularly anxious to lay stress upon the fact of his having in the preface to the same treatise "praised the Italians greatly for their pictures of the nude, and especially for their perspective." * In the year 1513 he writes: "The great art of painting was held in high esteem many hundred years ago by mighty kings, who enriched good artists and honoured them, for they looked upon such a genius for creation as something divine. A good painter indeed has his mind full of forms, and were it possible for him to live for ever, his ideas, to quote the expression of Plato, would be continually taking fresh shape. Many hundred years ago there were some famous painters, such as Phidias, Praxiteles, Apelles, Polycletes, Parrhasius, Lysippus, Protogenes, and others, some of whom described the principles of their art, expounded them with talent, and made them clear and intelligible; but their valuable books have hitherto remained unknown to us, and have perhaps altogether perished through war, the dispersion of nations, and the change of institutions and creeds—a loss which every wise man may well deplore. It often happens that a noble genius is extinguished by rude and ignorant oppressors of art,

* Letter to Pirkheimer in the Dresden MS.; Heller, p. 999.

who, when they see forms imaged by means of a few lines, set it down as pure necromancy. Thus they honour God in a way that is hateful to Him; and, to speak humanly, God is displeased with all destroyers of that great art which is gained by force of great trouble, labour, and time, and is bestowed by God only. I often grieve at not having those books on art by the masters I have mentioned; but the enemies of art despise such things."*

Still more remarkable is an earlier version of this passage, in which Dürer expresses his views on the extinction of ancient art with even greater clearness. It must have been written at a time when the influence of the Italian Renaissance, as understood by Mantegna, was still so keenly felt by Dürer as to make him think that the salvation of modern art lay in a direct imitation of the antique. Here are his own words: "Pliny says that the old painters and sculptors, like Apelles, Protogenes, and others, have described with great ability the way to construct a standard of measurement of the human form. It is very possible that, in the early times of the Church, noble books like these may have been suppressed and destroyed for fear of idolatry, because in them it was stated that Jupiter should have such a proportion and Apollo another, that Venus should be made in this way and Hercules in that, and so on. If this were so, and I had been present at the time, I should have said: Dear and holy masters and fathers! do not in your zeal to suppress what is evil so miserably crush and even destroy art, that noble invention which has been developed with such great toil and labour; for art is full of grandeur and difficulty, and we can and will gladly use it to the honour and glory of God. For the same beautiful human proportions which they have given to their deity Apollo, we will

* *Jahrbücher für Kunstwissenschaft*, i. 6.

give to Christ the Lord, who is beauty itself; and the lovely female form under which they have depicted Venus, shall be by us employed in a chaste manner for the representation of the pure Virgin Mary, the Mother of God; of their Hercules we will make Samson, and so with all the other deities."

Notwithstanding, however, Dürer always returns to Nature. From Nature alone flow, for him, those springs of beauty which the Creator has placed there. He repeatedly recommends his readers "to adhere diligently to the true characteristics of Nature;" and "neither to take anything away from her, nor to add anything which is incongruous." Above all, he warns them against overstepping the boundaries which Nature herself has placed: "Let every one avoid anything that is impossible, anything that Nature cannot endure, unless it be his desire to give shape to the visions of a dream, in which case all kinds of creatures may be mixed up together."* But as all beauty is contained in Nature, the great difficulty for man, with his limited powers, is to perceive it and reproduce it in a picture: "For it requires no small skill to draw a great number of human figures all different from one another; deformity is always sure to creep into our work. You cannot make a beautiful picture from one man only; for there lives no man on earth who possesses all the elements of beauty, or whose form is so perfect but that it might be more perfect still. Nor is there any man on earth who can positively affirm what the perfection of human beauty is. No one but God knows that, and," as he afterwards adds, "he to whom God may reveal it. In truth, and in truth alone lies the secret of what constitutes beauty and perfection of shape in the human form."†

* *Proportionslehre*, III. fol. Tii^{b}, 1, and 1^{b}.
† *Ibid.*

The æsthetic mind is, in Dürer's opinion, to a certain degree the product of a rare and special gift, but there is always something uncertain and subjective in it, and consequently it requires to be corrected by the judgment of others: "Let no one have too much confidence in himself, for the many can see more than the one, although it may happen that the one may understand more than a thousand others; but this occurs seldom." Symmetry and an adaptation of the means to the end contribute to beauty: "Utility is an element of beauty, therefore what is useless in man is not beautiful. Avoid everything that is superfluous! The perfect accord of one thing with another is beautiful, therefore limping is ugly; at the same time there may be great harmony in things unlike." It is, however, very characteristic of Dürer, as indeed it is of all German art, that he should look upon the idea of beauty as something indefinable and open to discussion: "To judge of beauty requires reflection. Every one can, according to his ability, bring it into everything, for what in some cases we think beautiful, in others might not be so. It is not easy for us to distinguish between what is beautiful and what is more beautiful; for it is quite possible that two pictures may be entirely unlike in every respect without our being able to judge which is the more beautiful. What beauty is I know not, though it exists in many things. If we would bring it into our work, we find it difficult indeed to do so; we must search for it far and near, and especially must we look for it in every part of the human body, seen in front and behind. We may often examine two or three hundred persons, and find at the most one or two beautiful things in them that can be used. Therefore it is necessary, if you would paint a good human figure, to take the head, breast, arms, legs, hands, and feet, &c., all from different persons." Pure eclecticism, in fact! Finally, Dürer is con-

tent to abide by the standard of general taste: "There is a just medium between too much and too little, and I advise you to hit that off in all your works. The standard of beauty should, in my opinion, be like the standard of right; what all the world esteems as right, we consider right; so what all the world deems beautiful, we too will consider beautiful, and endeavour to represent it." *

It was then a genuine historical conception of the idea of beauty at which Dürer arrived about the year 1512; and notwithstanding all that he thought and wrote about the subject afterwards, he never went beyond this. Such a conception, it is true, affords *à priori* no suggestion, nor is it of any service to the creative artist; it is simply the result of personal experience. Dürer's maxim comes to this, that the art of a nation grows in the same way as its law, and the beautiful, like the good, is not the product of the mind of a single individual, but the result of a long succession and a rich sum total of active intellectual powers, no matter whether these powers be divided among a number of individuals or all united by a happy chance in one single man of genius. Such a man undoubtedly was Dürer himself. In spite, however, of all his abstract speculations, he remained as an artist original and naïve; indeed, his individuality and independence rather increased than otherwise during the later years of his life. As soon as he comes to speak of the very essence of artistic work, he forgets theories and imitations of the antique; he knows nothing of composition from fragments of Nature, of measurements and speculations. No longer trusting to such aids as these, but launching himself boldly on the broad stream of Nature, he believes that he shall attain to a higher harmony in his work, when he says:

* *Jahrbücher für Kunstwissenschaft*, i. 8, 9.

"But the life in Nature proves the truth of these things; therefore consider her diligently, guide thyself by her, and swerve not from Nature, thinking that thou canst find something better of thyself, for thou wilt be deceived. For truly art is concealed in Nature, and he who can pluck it out, his it is. If thou canst succeed in obtaining it, thou wilt avoid many faults. . . . But of a certainty the more thy work is like Nature the better will it appear. Never therefore imagine to thyself that thou canst make anything better than God himself has made it; for all that thou canst do is as nothing compared with God's creative power. From this it is conclusively evident that no man can ever execute a beautiful picture relying only on his own imagination, unless he has stored his mind with a multitude of reminiscences. Art is no longer the product of a single intelligence, but becomes something which is acquired and learnt; something which sows itself, springs up, and brings forth fruit of its kind. The mysterious treasure laid up in the heart is thus made known through a man's work, through the new creations which he begets in his mind, and to which he gives shape and form." This is truly one of the finest thoughts that any artist ever gave expression to on the subject of his work, and we can detect between the lines something of that exaltation of soul under the influence of which the master feels himself in communion with the creative power of God. By the "mysterious treasure of the heart," he means the multitude of images which fill the imagination; and these images when diffused through works of art become "new creations," creations conceived and begotten within the artist's own soul, not originating in external causes or dependent on models taken from others. "And hence it follows," adds Dürer, "that a well-practised artist has no need to make studies from Nature for every picture, for it will be enough

for him to pour out what he has been for a long time accumulating within his mind. Such a one will succeed in doing good work; but very few arrive at understanding this." *

These words are in perfect harmony with the system which Dürer followed in the production of his later works. But high as he places his artistic vocation—so high, indeed, that he even sees in it a reflection of the Divine power—there is in him no trace of presumption. He thought both his completed works and his theoretical teachings to be alike wanting in a satisfactory result. He pictures to himself far more beautiful images than he can ever realise, and dreams of them: "Alas! how often I see in my sleep great works of art and excellent things, such as never appear to me when I am awake; and as soon as sleep leaves me, I lose the memory of them." Nor does Dürer deceive himself into the belief that we can ever arrive at the full knowledge of truth; accordingly he writes with reference to the proportions of the human body: "It appears to me impossible to place faith in any one's assertion that he knows exactly what are the best proportions of the human figure, for there is falsehood in our knowledge, and darkness cleaves so hard to us, that we stumble as we grope along." But this in no way discourages him, for in his eyes, as in those of Lessing, the striving after truth imparts a dignity to human nature, and he repels with indignation any idea of renouncing such efforts: "Because we cannot attain perfection, shall we give up learning altogether? We will not admit so base an idea, for men have good and evil before them, and it becomes a man of understanding to choose the good." †

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* *Proportionslehre*, III. fol. Tiii^{b}; Zahn, *Dürers Kunstlehre*, 84.

† *Proportionslehre*, III. Tii^{b}.

Although Dürer does not feel quite in a position to answer all the questions which he considers important for the future of art, yet he would contribute his share towards their solution, and he hopes that "many yet will write about all that belongs to the art of painting." "There will be, I am sure," he says, "a great number of eminent men who will ably treat of this art, better, indeed, than I can do; for, knowing my deficiencies, I think but little of my own work. Therefore let every one, according to his ability, take in hand the correction of these deficiencies. Would to God it were possible for me to see the works of the great masters of the future, of those who are not yet born!" Dürer, it is evident, by no means regarded himself as at the head of any movement in art. He considered himself rather as the chosen corner-stone, upon which should be raised the proud structure of German Art. Heap what honours we may upon his head, the crown of them all will ever be his modesty, which led him, without self-abasement, to subordinate himself to the general welfare, and to seek his own renown only in the triumph of the good cause. In the dedication of his work on Proportion to Pirkheimer, he does not doubt that, if only others could be found to continue his efforts, "this art might with time again reach perfection, as in past ages. For it is certain that the German painters are not a little skilful with their hands and in the use of colours, although they have been deficient hitherto in a knowledge of proportion and of perspective, and other things of the same kind. There is then hope that, when they have acquired what is wanting, and are able to combine theory and practice, they may one day reach a height which no other nation will be able to surpass."

Thus Dürer bequeathed to his compatriots, besides his great works, his far greater hopes; and it was with no

feeling of satisfaction at those works, but rather in view of the fulfilment of his hopes, that he breaks forth exultingly, and cries to his successors, in evident allusion to the words of Jesus:* "If I kindle a fire, and you diligently cherish and increase it, there may in time burst from it a flame that will lighten the whole world."

* St. Luke xii. 49.

DÜRER'S HOUSE AT NUREMBERG.

APPENDIX.

Pp. 241–3. The following are the originals of Kratzer's letter to Dürer and Dürer's reply:

NIKLAS KRATZER AN DÜRER.

"(London, 24. October 1524).

"Dem ersamen vnd kunstreichen Albrecht Durrer purger zu Norenperg, meinem lieben hern vnd frendt. Norenberg.

"Ersamer lieber her, eur vnd eurer hausfrauen gesuntheit ist mir ain grosse freudt. Wist das Hans Pemair pei mir in Engellandt ist gewessen, hab ich kummen lassen Muess euch verschreib(en), welich ir all in Niernberg euangelisch seit; got verleich euch gnad, das ir verendt, wan die widersacher sindt starck, aber got ist noch stercker, hilft gemainlich den kranken, die in anrieffen vnd erkenen. Lieber her Albrech ich woll euch gepetten haben, das ir mir abkunterfechet das instrument, das ir pei dem hern Pirckomer hab gesechen, dar mit man mist in die fer vnd weit, dar von ir mir zu Andarf habt gesagt oder das mir der her Pirckomair schick die composicion des selbigen instrument, daran tuet ir mir ain grosse freut. Auch peger ich zu wissen, wie ir ain truck gebt von allen euren prenten vnd was neus zu Niernberg ist angen mein kunst. Ich her das vnfer her Hans der astronomus ist todt. Peger ich das ir mir verschreibt was er hinder im hat gelassen vnd vnser Stabius wo sein kunst und furm hin sindt kumen. Und in meinem namen gries mir hern Pirckomair, ich hoff ich soll in kurtz Engelland machen, das ein gros land ist vnd Ptholomeo nit pekant ist gewessen, das wirt er gern sechen. Es haben all die dar von haben geschriben ainen klainen tail Engellandt gesechen, nit mer. Dan lieber her, durch Hans Pemair kindt ir mir woll verschreiben (nit mer). Ich pit euch, das ir mir des Stabius angesicht welt schicken, das kunderfecht ist in der pilnus sant Kolman geschniden in holtz. Nit mer dan was euch lieb sey! Dar mit seit got pefolchen. Datum 24. tag Octobris, Lundun.

"Eur diener,

"NICLAS KRATZER.

"Gries mir in sunderheit eur hausfrauen."

Dürer an Niklas Kratzer.

"Dem erbern und achtbarn Hern Niclas Kratzer küniglicher Majestät in Engenland diner meinem gönstigen Hern und frewnd.

"† 1524 am Mondag nach Barbare zu Nornberg. (5. December.)

"Mein gantz willig dinst zwfor libr Her Nicolae! Ewer schreiben, das mir zu kumen hab ich mit frewden gelesen; hör gern dass es ewch wol gett. Ich hab mit Her Wilbolt Birkamer ewrent halben fon dem Istrorment gerett, das Ir begert zw haben. Der lest ewch ein solches machen und wird ewchs mit sambt einem briff zwschicken. Aber Her Hansen ding, der ferschiden ist, das ding ist als zerrissen worden, weill ich im sterben aws bin gewesen; kan nit erfarn wo es hin kumen sei. Also ist es awch gangen mit des Stabius dingen; ist in Oesterreich als ferrugt worden, kann ewch weiter nit dafon bescheid geben. Item als ir mir zusagett, so ir weill möcht haben, wollt Ir den Euklide ins tewtsch bringen, wollt ich gern wissen, ob Ir etwas doran gemacht het.

"Item des cristlichen glowbens halben mus wir in schmoch und far sten, den man schmecht uns ketzer. Aber Gott ferleich uns sein gnad und sterk uns in seinem wort, dan wir müssen gott mer gehorsam sein, den dem menschen. So ist es besser leib und gut ferlorn, dan das von gott unser leib und sell in das hellisch fewer fersengt wird. Dozu mach uns gott bestendig im guten und erlewcht unser widerbart, dy armen elenden blinden lewt, awff das dy nit in irem irfall ferderben.

"Himyt seit Gott befohlen. Item schick ewch zwey angesicht vom kupfer getrugt. Ir wert sy woll kennen. Von newen mern ist zw der zeit nit gut zu schreiben, aber es sind fill böser anschlag ferhanden. Es wird allein der wille Gottes geschehen.

"E(uer) W(eisheit)

"Albrecht Dürer."

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